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ABSTRACT

The Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity held hearings on the quality and control of urban schools (Summer, 1971). The testimony of the various witnesses is recorded. Among the witnesses are professors of education, community leaders, and administrators of urban schools. The appendix includes material submitted by the witnesses and relevant newspaper articles. (JW)

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EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

OF THE

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SECOND CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

PART 13—QUALITY AND CONTROL OF URBAN SCHOOLS

WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 27, 29; AUGUST 5, 1971

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URBAN EDUCATION

TUESDAY, JULY 27, 1971

U.S. SENATE
SELECT COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met at 10:05 a.m., in room 1224, New Senate Office Building, the Honorable Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senators Mondale and Stevenson.

Staff members present: William C. Smith, staff director and general counsel; and Donald S. Harris, professional staff.

Senator MONDALE. The committee will come to order. This morning we will hear from Mrs. Barbara A. Sizemore, instructor in education, Northeastern Illinois State College, who is formerly director of the Woodlawn School project in Chicago, Ill.; and Mr. Kenneth Haskins, formerly dean of the Howard University School of Social Work. I see by the morning paper, you are dean of the Harvard School, as well.

Prior to that, he was an Alfred North Whitehead Fellow at Harvard, and prior to that the principal of the Morgan Community School of Washington, D.C.

If the two of you will come to the witness table, please. Dr. Sizemore, if you will begin.

Senator STEVENSON. Mr. Chairman, this morning I would like to welcome to our hearings, Dr. Barbara Sizemore from my home State of Illinois.

I share with Dr. Sizemore concern for better education and recognize the need for greater community involvement in our educational institutions.

Dr. Sizemore is now with the Center for Inner City Studies at Northeastern Illinois State College and was former director of the Woodlawn Experimental Schools project in Chicago.

I am certain that her testimony will be both informative and helpful, and deserving of your attention.

Dr. Sizemore, welcome.

STATEMENT OF DR. BARBARA A. SIZEMORE, CENTER FOR INNER CITY STUDIES, NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS STATE COLLEGE, CHICAGO, ILL.

Dr. SIZEMORE. Thank you, Senator Mondale. And I thank you for this opportunity to discuss the condition of the educational programs in the schools today.

My concern is in the field of education, and today the schools are in trouble, as exhibited by the many chaotic conditions in some places in the high schools.

And the study "Crisis in the Classroom," that Silberman made addresses itself to this issue. The point that Silberman makes so well is that education is a product of American society and culture and is the deliberate or purposeful creation, or transmission of knowledge, abilities, skills, and values.

I feel that the mistake that he makes is citing mindlessness as the cause of what is wrong with the public schools. He defines mindlessness as the failure or refusal to think seriously about educational purpose, the reluctance to question established practice. This analysis completely avoids the discussion of purposeful action, thereby eliminating consideration of forceful cultural imperatives such as racism.

Consequently, Silberman falls victim to a classic educational error, the inaccurate definition of the problem. Such inaccurate definitions lead to the wrong solutions. This statement will attempt to discuss two of these solutions: Integration and community control.

I feel that the definitional level is the most important since most solutions are designed to solve problems as they are defined.

In the 1954 *Brown* decision, it was indicated that segregation of the schools was undesirable and that integration would be a national imperative. The 1971 U.S. Supreme Court ruling allowing court-ordered busing to speed integration of Southern schools is an attempt to facilitate enforcement of the 1954 *Brown* decision of that same court.

The fact that such an act is necessary indicates the magnitude of the problem in my opinion. True integration demands an end to racism, the problem, a diagnosis which most white European Americans reject. Racism is the belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce the inherent superiority of a particular race.

In this country, most institutions promote and protect the value of white European superiority, and this support precludes possibilities for true integration, because the schools in the total social order cannot be divorced therefrom and any programs for improving the school cannot be enforced in that total social order.

DEFINITIONS OF INTEGRATION

Oscar Handlin gives two definitions for integration. One, is that it is that condition which affords an open society wherein any individual can make, has the opportunity to make, a multitude of voluntary or involuntary contacts with any other human being based on his own preference, taste, and ability.

Had this definition been chosen, then certain things would be the order of the day, like open housing, equal education opportunity, equal entry into any occupation.

The other definition he discusses is the definition of racial balance. Racial balance is a definition which states that every group should be distributed throughout the institutions according to its percentage of the national population. Now I call this definition desegregation, and I call the other definition, the open society definition, a definition of integration.

Desegregation or racial balance has some deficiencies. One is, what is racial balance, and that is often defined as racial imbalance, since eighty-twenty is hardly balance, and it's always in the direction of the larger white society.

Handlin says that the civil rights movement never made it clear which one of the definitions it chose, and so has failed, and this failure at the definitional level has created enormous disadvantages for my people.

The open society definition was not adopted and models of desegregation which accommodated racist goals were constructed. Using Sol Tax—an anthropologist at the University of Chicago—using his formula of A over B to define a situation wherein A represents groups with power and B represents groups with no power, then you could describe the total social reality and all the institutions therein as a condition where A had power over B. In addition to having power to make the decisions over B, it also has the power to decide what sets of knowledge will be distributed and disseminated, and what sets of knowledge will not be.

If the sources of knowledge are restricted and limited, any group will have the information, skills, and knowledge necessary to define problems only in one way, and that way will mostly be in the direction of sustaining power in the A group.

OBJECTIVE OF PRO-INTEGRATIONISTS

Another study to which I would like to refer is the Robert L. Crain study on school desegregation in the North, where he found that the prointegration community group wanted to maintain a sufficiently high percentage of whites, or a sufficiently low percentage of blacks, in the community, to prevent the whites from moving out. Stated in this way, their position sounds like it might be closer to the "keep the blacks out" demands of segregationist white communities than those of a civil rights group, and this is exactly the point of this paper, that the desires of prointegration groups in the North were exactly the same as that of segregationist groups in the South, to keep the blacks down and out.

MAJORITY—BLACK CITIES

Also, if you will recall, Senator, in 1951–52, just prior to the 1954 decision, information was released that blacks were concentrating in the central cities. In 1951–52, for the first time in urban centers, the schools of Washington, D.C., the metropolitan area with the largest black population, became 53-percent black. And the predictions that this would occur in city after city threatened white political control of the "Free North."

Commerce, banking, and industry took up the pattern of flight to the "safe" suburb, leaving the central city open to black power, black self-determination, and black control.

Realizing their plight, white leaders found it necessary to select some "liberal", "democratic" and "Christian" alternatives to keep black people colonialized. Desegregation or racial balance is such an alternative. These were the conditions that existed at the time of the decision in 1954, and that decision, if one will stop and think about it, reflects the racist thinking. It says:

> Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn.

The language infers that segregation does no or little harm to white children. Therefore, segregated schools must support whites.

And my question is, if an institution supports the folk who give the inference of inferiority to another folk, how can that institution help the so-called inferior folk?

The overlooked situation is that social orders are produced and created by human activity, and this is done by systems of behavior typifications which are institutionalized so that people are conditioned to react to social situations according to the behavior systems which they have learned and are typified and objectified in the institutions which socialized them through language.

So any institution, whether desegregated or integrated, which reinforces the concept that blacks are inferior, will prepare them as subordinates and whites will learn to be superordinates.

WHITES RETAIN DECISIONMAKING POWER

My point is that both of these—both desegregation and integration—are solutions chosen for B groups by A groups, without the B group participation in the decisionmaking, and therefore, the decisions have usually worked to the disadvantage of the B groups.

And so it has been with desegregation models which have been implemented throughout the South and in the North, so that blacks end up losing positions, as demonstrated by Robert Hooker's study, and then this results in mass unemployment of black professionals.

In the South, according to Hooker, the principal has been the primary prey of desegregation. Now the black principalship in the South has been a job that is well known as a position of leadership in the black community, usually occupied by men, and therefore the elimination of this position would work undue hardship on the professional mobility ladders constructed by black people in the field of education.

Additionally, black people have concentrated professionally in the occupation of teaching, because they have been excluded from the business, industrial, military complex.

Therefore, any exclusion of black people from this occupation may result in the 1930's situation of concentration of black Ph. D.'s in the post office.

DECENTRALIZATION AND COMMUNITY CONTROL

The other solution to the problem is community control. Community control has been confused with decentralization, at the definitional level. And it is not the same.

Decentralization is concerned with a reordering of the relationships between the power group and the powerless group. It is sometimes called bringing the decisionmaking power closer to the community.

Community control is concerned with the redistribution of power so that the B group actually makes the decisions about what goes on in the institutions which affect the lives of their children.

The confusion of these two definitions, I fear, will cause and create the same kinds of disadvantages for black people that the confusion of the two definitions of integration cause.

And what I am advocating is the creation of decisionmaking models which afford the community, the administrators, parents, teachers, and students, an opportunity to make decisions together. A decisionmaking apparatus, assuring B group participation in power, as needed, to establish a mutually shared symbolic system in the complementarity of expectations and the double contingency that exists in a society where there are oppressed groups. And this is a necessity since institutions are shaping the life chances of B groups.

Had there been such an apparatus available for the construction of desegregation models, perhaps it would have been less disadvantageous for B group people.

Numerous mechanisms must be designed to afford the opportunity of a multitude of interactions among the personalities and roles within the social system of the school. And these interactions acts as inputs which will affect the outputs by bringing the values of the institution in line with the values of the clients.

Such a collective decisionmaking model was in operation in Woodlawn Experimental Schools District Project, and in some other places in this country. But these models were usually inhibited by controls from power groups in middle management, or central office, or central boards of education. So that the real power to make these decisions was rarely given to the people who are on the local boards.

If there is to be an aggregate model which is supposed to work so that one has an opportunity to make decisions, then this must be part of it. So that the B groups are not suppressed in their decisionmaking by A group power.

Otherwise, the whole point of community control will be prostituted into decentralization, and the B group will not have the opportunity to change what is necessary.

Both decentralization and community control operate with an aggregate model, but in decentralization, the veto powers are in the hands of the board, and in community control, the approval-veto powers are in the hands of the people.

REALLOCATION OF POWER

The primary objective, it seems to me, in educational systems now is to change this power so that the people can decide what is to happen in the institutions that affect the life chances of their people.

And it seems to me, further, that any solution guaranteeing cultural pluralism demands the input which an aggregate model provides. It needs the diagnosis from a teaching staff that has an opportunity to have input into the making of decisions, and from parents, and from students.

And it seems further to me that if we do not get about the business of establishing these systems for participatory democracy in the institutions that socialize our youngsters for democracy, there will be little chance for having a true democracy.

To make the schools a vehicle for cultural pluralism, the institutional values of male superiority, white-European superiority, and superiority of people with money, must be abandoned, and these values will have to be replaced with other values having to do with land, life, and liberty.

And secondly, education must be for the purpose of self-fulfillment and self-revelation, by the expansion of the human potential for the best possible interests of each person concerned, so that he can lead a more meaningful life in a democracy, for the betterment of himself and all mankind.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Mrs. Sizemore. I think we will hear from Mr. Haskins and then I will question you together.

I notice you did not read the full testimony, but we will include your full statement in the record as though read as well, plus your additional comments.

(The prepared statement follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. BARBARA A. SIZMORE

Today the schools are in trouble. The youth are in rebellion. High schools are so chaotic in some places that they must close to reorganize. Siberman says in his study, *Crisis in the Classroom*, it is not that everything being done is necessarily wrong; it is "simply that everything now being done needs to be questioned." [1]

He states in his preface that "the crisis in the classroom—the public school classroom, the college classroom, the national "classroom" created by the mass media and by the operation of the American political system—is both a reflection of and a contributor to the larger crisis of American society." [2] The point that Silberman makes so well is that education is a product of American society and culture and is the deliberate or purposeful creation, evocation or transmission of knowledge, abilities, skills and values.[3]

The mistake that he makes is citing mindlessness as the cause of what is wrong with the public schools. He defines mindlessness as the failure or refusal to think seriously about educational purpose, the reluctance to question established practice. This analysis completely avoids the discussion of purposeful action, thereby eliminating forceful cultural imperatives such as racism. Consequently, Silberman falls victim to a classic educational error: the inaccurate definition of the problem. Such inaccurate definitions lead to the wrong solutions. This statement will attempt to discuss two solutions: integration and community control.

The 1971 U.S. Supreme Court ruing allowed court-ordered busing to speed integration of Southern Schools is an attempt to facilitate enforcement of the 1954 Brown Decisions of that same court. The fact that such an act is necessary indicates the magnitude of the problem. True integration demands an end to racism, the problem, a diagnosis which most white European-Americans reject. Racism is the belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial differences produce the inherent superiority of a particular race. In the United States most institutions promote and protect the value of white European superiority. This support precludes possibilities for true integration.

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[1] Charles E. Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom, N.Y.: Random House, 1970, p. 4.

[2] *Ibid*, p. vii.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 5–6.

Handlin[4] gives two definitions of integration. One refers to an open society, to a condition in which every individual can make the maximum number of voluntary contracts with others without regard to qualification of ancestry. This definition demands solutions which would eradicate segregated housing, deny unequal job opportunities, eliminate inadequate medical educational services and remove unequal taxation demands. If this definition had been chosen, all barriers to association would have been leveled except those based on ability, taste and personal preferences. This definition will be called integration in this paper.

The other definition refers to integration as racial balance. This means that individuals of each racial or ethnic group are randomly distributed throughout the society so that every realm of activity contains a representative cross section of the population. This definition will be called desegregation. Integration affords free choice to equals with the same limitations; desegregation assures free choice to the superordinate. Handlin says that the civil rights movement has never made a clear choice between these two definitions. This failure at the definitional level has created enormous disadvantages for black people.

The open society definition was not adopted and models of desegregation which accommodated racist goals were constructed. Using Sol Tax's formula A/B wherein A represents groups with power and B represents groups with no power,[5] A has the power to distribute and disseminate knowledge, information and skills as well as to make decisions.[6] Other powers exist too.

> * * * Power is also exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A. To the extent that A succeeds in doing this, B is prevented, for all practical purposes, from bringing to the fore any issues that might in their resolution be seriously detrimental to A's set of preferences.[7]

Such was the case when A group opted for racial balance instead of open society. The process was limited to education thereby excluding job opportunities, housing facilities and political control as issues in this process.

But, efforts at desegregation of the public schools did become entangled with residency isolation; political patronage systems, the exodus of whites and the consequent loss of capital and resources; the expansion of the ghetto and the threat of the emergent black political force. For, as each new white community faced black inundation, the cry for integrated schools could be heard.

In fact, in four northern cities, interracial neighborhood groups and white liberals were in the forefront of the protest. As described by Crain,[8] in all four cases, the pro-integration community group wanted to maintain a sufficiently high percentage of whites, or a sufficiently low percentage of blacks, to prevent whites from moving out. Stated in this way, their position sounds like it might be closer to the "Keep the Blacks out" demands of segregationist white communities than those of a Civil Rights group. This is exactly the point. Both programs emanate from the same racist objective: To keep Blacks down.

The hidden truth is that the U.S.A. had been faced with the "Progressive ghettoization of whole series of great urban conglomerations."[9] The whites had been fleeing to suburbia and the blacks had been concentrating in the central cities. In 1951–52, for the first time in the Urban Centers, the schools of Washington, D.C., the metropolitan area with the largest population, became 53% black.[10] The predictions that this would occur in city after city threatened white political control of the "Free North." Commerce, banking and industry took up the pattern of flight to the "safe" suburb, leaving the central city open to black power, black self-determination and black control. Realizing their plight, white leaders found it necessary to select some "liberal", "democratic" and "christian" alternatives to keep black people colonialized. Desegregation or racial balance is such an alternative. These were the conditions which influenced the thinking of the Justices of the Supreme Court in 1954.

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[4] Oscar Handlin, "The Goals of Integration" in *The Negro American*, edited by Kenneth B. Clark and Talcott Parsons, (Boston, Houghten Mifflin Co., 1965) p. 661.

[5] This formula was introduced by Sol Tax in Exhibit 44, "The Freedom to Make Mistakes," in *The Documentary History of the Fox Project*, edited by Fred Gearing, Robert McNetting and Lisa R. Peattie (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1960) pp. 245–250.

[6] Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1966) pp. 61–107.

[7] Peter Bachrach and Morton S. Baratz, "Two Faces of Power" in *American Political Science Review*. (December, 1962) pp. 948–949.

[8] Robert L. Crain, *School Desegregation in the North*. Report 1104 of the National Opinion Research Center. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago 1966).

[9] Joseph Alsop, "No More Nonsense About Ghetto Education!" *The New Republic*, (July 22, 1967) p. 18.

[10] Joseph Alsop, "No More Nonsense About Ghetto Education!" *The New Republic*, (July 22, 1967) p. 19.

The 1954 decision reflects this racist thinking. It says:

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn.

This language infers that segregation does no or little harm to white children; therefore, segregated schools must support whites. If an institution supports the folk who give the inference of inferiority to another folk, how can that institution help the so-called inferior folk?

The over-looked situation is that social orders are produced and created by human activity, and this is done by systems of behavior typifications which are institutionalized.[11] Individuals then internalize these objectifications of externalize them in perpetuation. Language and socialization facilitate institutionalization completing the circle. Institutions objectify human behavior. Man and his social world herein interact with each other. The product acts back upon the producer. If the institution upholds white European superiority, the make-up of the role incumbents is irrelevant. Blacks will learn to be subordinates and whites will learn to be superordinates. This is the set of knowledge which the institution legitimizes through language and the dialectic. The origins of the roles likewise lie in the same fundamental process of habitualization and objectification as the origins of institutions. Roles appear as soon as a common stock of knowledge containing reciprocal typifications of conduct is in process of information, a process that, as we have seen is endemic to social interaction and prior to institutionalization, proper. No matter what the school, segregated or desegregated, if the role for blacks is inferior, the outcome will remain the same. Simple mixing does not insure redefinition of roles, especially when the larger social order makes no such demands.

Desegregation and segregation are solutions chosen by A for B. Both are logical outcomes consistent with the contriently interdependent competitive economic model [12] which exists in this country. In this model, when A wins, B loses, and when B wins, A loses. Inherent in the model are always losers. If A has the power, B will continue to be the loser unless B begins to define situations and problems itself.

In most places where desegregation models have been implemented blacks lose jobs. Most blacks have been recruited into teaching because they were systematically excluded from participation in the professional slots in the business-industrial-military complex. Recent research indicates that hundreds of black teachers have been demoted, dismissed out right, denied new contracts or pressured into resigning because of desegregation and that new teachers hired to replace them include fewer and fewer blacks.[13] Moreover, the black principal has been desegregation's primary prey. This is an historical position invariably held by a black man throughout the South. Desegregation, then, serves to create more jobs for whites at a time when the economy is shrinking and industry constricting.

Technology and modernization displace A group as recently documented by the expulsion of engineers by the aerospace industry. These casualties must be absorbed by the system. Since the teaching profession is the primary place of employment, black displacement here is disfunctional with the so-called gains of desegregation, for where will the society employ these new better educated blacks?

A careful study of the goals of desegregation show that the models are inimical to the best interests of black people. Desegregation serves the interests of A group. Until black people make better definitions of their problems, the solutions will continue to destroy us.

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[11] For complete discussion see *Berger & Luckmann, op. cit.* pp. 45–118.

[12] Morton Deutsch, "Cooperation and Trust." Some Theatrical notes in *Interpersonal Dynamics* by Warren G. Bennis, Edgar H. Schein, David E. Berlew and Fred I. Steel (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1964) p. 566.

[13] Robert W. Hooker, "Integration Cheats Black Teachers," *Chicago Sun Times*, January 10, 1971. Sec. 2. pp. 2–3.

The black educational situation is better known. Black students continue to be at the bottom of the barrel when test scores are published. Acklyn Lynch stated in a speech in February, 1971 at the University of Virginia that there were more black men in prison in the United States than there were black colege students of whom sixty percent are women. Carter G. Woodson, noted black scholar, saw what was happening in 1933 when he wrote *The Miseducation of the Negro.* He said:

"The so-called modern education, with all its defects, however, does others so much more good than it does the Negro, because it has been worked out in conformity to the needs of those who have enslaved and oppressed weaker peoples. For example, the philosophy and ethics resulting from our educational system have justified slavery, peonage, segregation and lynching. The oppressor has the right to exploit the handicapped and kill the oppressed." [14]

The plain truth is that black people have inaccurate conceptual maps of reality. As cited above, A groups control the distribution and dissemination of knowledge in order to preserve certain symbolic universes and that knowledge is institutionalized through certain behavior typification systems which are then internalized by individuals to maintain certain groups in excluded and/or inferior positions.

These sets of knowledge preserve the values also. America is depicted often in the curriculum as democratic but seldom as capitalist. Since the country has not yet achieved democracy, the schools should teach the citizens the capitalistic structure so they can understand how it works and can use it to help themselves. Moreover, since food, housing, clothing and medicines are for sale in this country at a profit, certainly the poor and the disadvantaged should first be taught how to make money. Yet, scarcely a word is said about economics except in the sense of consumership. In fact, Jules Henry states that the purpose of education is just that—to make people buy! [15]

Furthermore, schools where the disadvantaged are educated have programs for training in obsolete skills and trades. No schools train or educate the poor and the disadvantaged in technology or the hard sciences. Few trade schools offer programs for apprenticeship in the building trades. More than likely, blacks are prohibited from obtaining apprenticeships. Most training for such jobs nowadays occurs on-the-job. The problem for blacks and women is how to get on the job!

The educational curriculum is dominated by white European feats, exploits and miracles. Christopher Columbus discovered America even though the people he incorrectly named Indians were already here. Man began in the Caucasus Mountains when the earliest man bones were found in Olduvai Gorge, Kenya, East Africa. The history of the black people in America began in 1619. Yet they had a homeland in Africa before that time. All kinds of European interpretations strangle Black dreams and aspirations. The Constitution guarantees liberty, equality and the pursuit of happiness. But, when Blacks agitate for these guarantees, sociologists scream "rising expectations" and "benign neglect."

Recently, social scientists have become more supportive of these racist, chauvinist values. Arthur Jensen has made attempts to assign Blacks to inferior genetic groups with I.Q. tests.[16] Edward C. Banfield supports the white European culture as the "normal culture", the most profound motivating dynamic being "future orientation." [17] James S. Coleman found that poor children are most significantly affected by the affluence of their classmates.[18] Thomas Pettigrew and others found that Blacks could learn better in schools with whites.[19] Such studies further perpetuate the institutional values of male superiority, white European superiority and the superiority of people with money. No significant change will occur in schools until a new value system is designed and implemented based on land, liberty and life.

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[14] Carter G. Woodson, *The Miseducation of the Negro,* Washington, D.C.: Associated Press, 1933 p. xxxii.

[15] Jules Henry, *Culture Against Man,* N.Y.: Random House, 1963.

[16] Arthur Jensen. "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement" in *Harvard Educational Review,* February 1969, p. 1–123.

[17] Edward C. Banfield, *The Unheavenly City,* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1970.

[18] James S. Coleman. *Equality of Educational Opportunity,* U.S. Department of Health, Education & Welfare, O.E. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

[19] Thomas Pettigrew, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,* U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1967.

If culture does indeed provide the standards which are applied in evaluative processes, and if culture is an expression of a general problem—that of the relationships linking man to his environment, then B groups can no longer allow A groups to define their problems, create their values and devise their norms. Otherwise the motivational and situational factors which work toward uniformities in codes and standards, trends in action such as striving and energy disposal, and choices and interests, will continue to preserve and maintain the system of B group exclusion and cultural denigration.

A decision-making apparatus assuring B group participation and power is needed to establish a mutually shared symbolic system in the complementarity of expectations and the double contingency. This is a necessity in institutions shaping the life chances of B groups. Numerous mechanisms must be designed to afford the opportunities of a multitude of interactions among the personalities and roles within the social system of the school. These interactions act as inputs which will affect the outputs by bringing the values of the institution in line with the values of the clients.

An aggregate model is needed to accomplish these goals.[20] Such a model must give each role and group a position of parity and power in the decision-making. B groups need not feel that A groups will willingly succumb or surrender these powerful institutions which keep them in power. The control of these institutions will result from repeated struggles, conflicts and confrontations. A groups will design programs to absorb the energies of B groups and to displace the liberation goals with survival goals. A groups will co-opt B groups and B group programs so that they veer from the original directions and point toward A group goals and ends. This is to be expected since A groups are in power. However, the struggle must go on. The change will be effective if the values are no longer acknowledged and/or respected. Alternate symbolic universes will be legitimated if the people so decide. The present attempt by social scientists to define decentralization as community control is such an endeavor. The recent statement to this committee by Dr. Marilyn Gittell is an example.

Decentralization and community control are two administrative decision-making strategies which have been advanced in an attempt to resolve the controversy between advocates of integration and those of community control. People differ in their definitions of these concepts. To some they are synonymous; to others they are not. Some say that decentralization is primarily concerned with restructuring relationships between the school and the central board while community control represents a redistribution of power with a set of exclusive powers assigned to the local community board. Others say that decentralization means two quite different things: reduction in size and the redistribution of the power to make important decisions. Definitions of community control differ from community to community but in most black communities the central concept is that of power.

Both strategies operate with an aggregate model. In decentralization approval-veto powers reside in the central office or the central Board of Education. In community control the approval-veto powers reside with the people in the local community board. One such decentralization model is CAPTS,[21] designed and implemented in the Woodlawn Experimental Schools District Project, (WESP), an E.S.E.A., Title III government funded project under Public Law 89–10 in Chicago, Illinois. This project operated under a tripartite arrangement with three institutions, The Woodlawn Organization, The University of Chicago and the Chicago Board of Education. The District was governed by the Woodlawn Community Board which had twenty-one (21) members, ten (10) from the Woodlawn Organization, seven (7) from the Chicago Board of Education and four (4) from the University of Chicago. Under community control, The Woodlawn Community Board would have made policy for the District, controlled the finance and teacher hiring and firing and would have been completely composed and representative of the entire community. However, under the Title III Program and its Memorandum of Agreement with the Chicago Board of Education the Woodlawn Community Board was only a recommending body for the former held approval veto powers. The WCB was a decentralized body, not one of community control.

The WESP District, located in Woodlawn, one of the ten (10) poorest of the seventy-five (75) city community areas, had three components: the community component, the research and evaluation component and the in-school component; and three schools: Hyde Park High, Wadsworth Elementary School and Wadsworth Upper Grade Center. The community component had twenty-five community agents who organized and convened some forty parent councils of approximately twenty members each. These parent councils each elected a president or chairman who sat on the Woodlawn Parent Council Advisory Board. These members became alternates for Woodlawn Community Board members. These parent council presidents attended Leadership Training Sessions to learn how to be a Board member, how to use Robert's Rules of Drder, how to understand school law, Board rules and other necessary information.

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[20] Morris Janowitz, "Institution Building in Urban Education" in *Innovations in Mass Education*, edited by David Street, N.Y.: John Wiley & Son, 1969, p. 273–342.

[21] CAPTS—C is for community representative; A means administrators; P equals Parents; T is for teachers and S is for students.

The in-school component had forty community teachers (teachers' aides). These community teachers and parents attended workshops in methods of teaching the Ethnolinquistic Cultural Approach to Oral Language and the Sensory-Motor-Perceptual Program. Community teachers had learned to test and screen for the latter program and many of them knew how to teach the first rudiments of reading skills. Moreover, parents had been trained for positions as community agents, community teachers and research assistants and they served in classrooms on teams to solve problems.

The primary objective of the WESP was to restructure the social system through a mutuality of effort through subsequent interventions which have two foci: (1) to change the roles and relationships in the community and (2) to change the roles and relationships in the school. The project was not only interested in who works together but how. To the degree that the mutuality of effort effected a restructuring of the social system the following secondary objectives were to be achieved: (1) elevation of achievement scores, (2) an improvement in self-concept, (3) a reduction in alienation, and (4) a sense of power over one's destiny. Mutuality of effort was to be achieved through CAPTS and the CAPTS-WESP Decision-making Model was to be the vehicle to restructure the social system.

The Model had nine (9) steps. (See Figure 1). Program planning occurred in the CAPTS Congress. First, each group met separately. A plan emerged from a group. It was submitted to the other groups who discussed and negotiated. The negotiated plan was then sent to the professional bureaucracy to be formulated into an educational program. This formulation was sent to the administrative staff for organization. The administrative staff then submitted the proposal to the WCB. The WCB recommended or did not recommend. If WCB recommended and the proposal did not warrent submission to the CBE[22] (this means it does not infringe upon the power of the CBE), the proposal then came back to the administrative staff for coordination and communication, to the professional bureaucracy for implementation and back to the CAPTS Congress for evaluation. Each group first met separately to discuss the method and the instruments to be used for evaluation. These were then negotiated and the evaluation took place according to the negotiated plan. If a proposal or plan failed to be recommended by the WCB or was vetoed by the CBE it returned to the CAPTS Congress and started over again.

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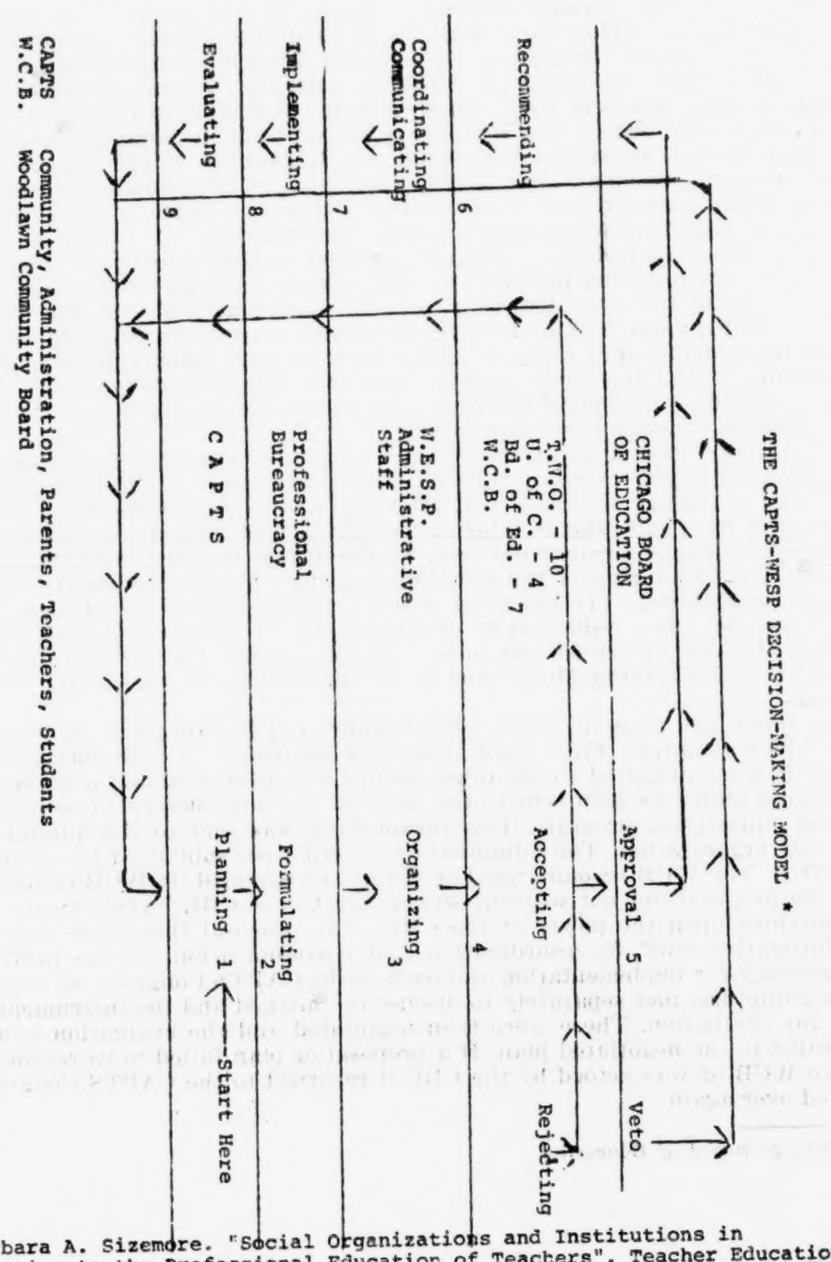
[22] Chicago Board of Education.


THE CAPTS-WESP DECISION-MAKING MODEL *
CHICAGO BOARD OF EDUCATION
T.W.O. - 10
U. of C. - 4
Bd. of Ed. - 7
W.C.B.
W.E.S.P. Administrative Staff
Professional Bureaucracy
C A P T S
Approval 5
Veto
Accepting 4
Rejecting
Organizing 3
Formulating 2
Planning 1
Start Here
Recommending 6
Coordinating Communicating 7
Implementing 8
Evaluating 9
CAPTS Community, Administration, Parents, Teachers, Students
W.C.B. Woodlawn Community Board

Barbara A. Sizemore. "Social Organizations and Institutions in Relation to the Professional Education of Teachers". *Teacher Education Future Directions*. Copyright 1970. p. 40

Although the Chicago Board of Education never exercised its veto powers, middle-management and the city civil service commission managed to veto often. Line-staff ambiguities provided the school principals with avoidance routes for the delivery of their services and complicated the model also. But, in spite of these obstructions, major accomplishments in effecting change are as follows: (1) the cessation of all gang activity on the Wadsworth Upper Grade Center Yard which the former principal and the newspapers declared a "Viet Nam Battlefield" prior to the project; (2) the creation of one of the first black designed Follow-Through Models in the nation, the Ethnolinguistic Cultural Approach to Oral Language; (3) the elimination of non-ready first grade readers (See Table I); (4) an increase in achievement of third grade children (See Table II); (5) the increase in achievement scores of the Upper Grade Center Young men involved in the Study Skills Survey Experiment; (6) the invention of the CAPTS–WESP parental community participation model which failed to explode into another Ocean Hill-Brownsville as predicted by project opponents, precisely because it was not designed for community control; (7) the development of the most sophisticated work-study program in any high school in the city; (8) the establishment of an Education Services Center which was people-directed for increased delivery of programs and attended far in excess of other adult education centers like it: and (9) a decrease in teacher-student conflict and hostility.

TABLE I.—WADSWORTH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, 1ST GRADE, COMPARISON OF MEANS

Subtest	Mean score before WESP	Mean score after WESP	t[1]
Reading	46.44	49.51	+2.44

[1] Result of test; an absolute value greater than 1.95 indicates a significant difference between means at the 95 percent confidence level.

TABLE II.—WADSWORTH ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, 3D GRADE, COMPARISON OF QUARTILE MEANS

Subtest	NBW[1]	Gain or loss	Percent gain or loss
1st quartile:			
Word knowledge	3.942	+0.465	+11.79
Word discrimination	4.008	+0.095	+2.37
Reading	3.687	+0.120	+3.26
Spelling	4.637	+0.535	+11.53
Language	4.030	+0.171	+4.23
Arithmetic computation	4.097	+0.167	+4.06
Arithmetic problems	3.656	+0.159	+4.35
2d quartile:			
Word knowledge	2.907	+0.200	+6.87
Word discrimination	2.982	+0.143	+4.80
Reading	3.011	+0.226	+7.50
Spelling	3.160	+0.315	+9.96
Language	2.999	+0.206	+6.87
Aritnmetic computation	3.550	+0.118	+3.31
Arithmetic problems	2.902	+0.164	+5.66
3d quartile:			
Word knowledge	2.454	+0.173	+7.05
Word discrimination	2.605	+0.083	+3.19
Reading	2.691	+0.201	+7.48
Spelling	2.439	+0.031	+1.29
Language	2.471	+0.239	+9.69
Arithmetic computation	3.063	+0.154	+5.02
Arithmetic problems	2.577	+0.046	+1.77
4th quartile:			
Word knowledge	1.907	+0.195	+10.20
Word discrimination	2.236	+0.032	+1.45
Reading	2.278	+0.206	+9.03
Spelling	1.395	+0.053	+3.79
Language	1.746	+0.024	+1.39
Arithmetic computation	2.212	+0.105	+4.74
Arithmetic problems	2.141	+0.059	+2.76

[1] MBW—Mean before WESP.

Any solution guaranteeing cultural pluralism demands the input which an aggregate model provided. It needs the diagnostic skills of the professional staff. In such a school diagnosis would be the important program. Teachers would need to become skilled in techniques of data collection and analysis, such as interviewing, microethnograpy, questionnaire construction, public opinion polling, test construction, categorizing and codification. Diagnosis would not stop nor necessarily start in the classroom but would encompass the entire community especially as it related to the students existence, present, past and future. It would need administrators amenable to the collective decision model described above or administrators willing to share power. Let's look at an example of how this model would work:

In 1966 at Forrestville High School, a high school located in the inner city of Chicago, plagued by a constellation of gang problems, low achievement, high drop out rates, poor facilities and lack of equipment and materials, an aggregate body of parents, students and teachers became concerned, began to observe the students in the high school and to collect data on the community and these students. Soon they noticed that the students were constantly requesting permission to go to the instrumental music room and to borrow music instruments. After conferring with the band instructor, these teachers found that many more students wanted to be in the band than the school facility could accommodoate. Moreover, after much interviewing with parents and students, the teachers located and identified approximately thirty singing groups who hung around the school after hours to practice in the empty classrooms.

The teachers also discovered that the reading median of the incoming freshman class was approximately fourth grade, that the sophomore class had the highest drop-out rate (3 boys to 1 girl), that two girls graduated for every one boy and that eighty per cent of the attendance and discipline problems were attributed to freshmen. They found that four out of every five students in the 9th grade Civics classes felt that the subject matter was boring and irrelevant. Student responses indicated that they wanted to study their own community.

A meeting of interested community representatives and parents was called by the teachers, the PTA, the students who had formed two groups—the Men and Women of Forrestville, the presidents of the classes and the student council to discuss the new high school planned for the community. At this meeting the data and the information were discussed in general terms. Several suggestions were made and implemented. Committees were formed to discuss other matters further and one of these committees was assigned to preplanning for the new high school.

The students in the Civics classes began the study of Grand Boulevard, the community area in which the high school was located. One class was to survey the community housing; another was to locate and study all business, i.e. grocery and liquor stores, restaurants, barber shops, etc. A social center[23] permit was obtained by the high school to provide space for the students interested in singing and playing musical instruments to practice and record. A disc-jockey club was formed and permission was granted by the local Soul radio station to work with the members on Saturdays at the radio station. The students requested and received permission to play records in the lunchroom during lunch periods and the disc-jockeys manned the equipment and mikes, made lunch school announcements and read pertinent bulletins. Parents, teachers and students became enthusiastic about Black History and the Magnificent Seven started with the school wide contest called "Do you Know these Famous Black Men and Women? Students who could name the largest number were to receive savings bonds. Then, the most frequently named men were listed and the Men of Forrestville were asked to select the seven who had contributed the most to the liberation of black people. Those chosen were: Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey and Frederick Douglas. The Men of Forrestville were then asked to try out for the roles of these famous heroes. The candidate was to write a speech taken from the study of this man's life and he was to try to sound exactly like the man he had chosen. The winners were called "The Magnificent Seven."

The first all school affair was "The Call for Freedom" which became an annual event. "The Call for Freedom" was the story of the Black Man's experience in America. Every student tried to perform in the affair. It was then that the observation was made about the intense interest Forrestville students had in the performing arts: singing, dancing, writing, acting, painting, building, sewing and designing.

The parents on the new school committee began to discuss the possibility of having larger music, art and drama departments in the new high school. Teachers were resistant to the idea at first.

The new high school gradually emerged. The performing arts was to be the core. But parents did not want it to be a singing and dancing high school. It had to be more. But the school was to respond to the students and the Black man's needs for no one wanted to produce the "old Negro."

Five parents, three teachers and three students met with the architects to discuss their ideas. There was to be a television beaming station, the stage was to be the center of the school. They wanted band rooms and practice rooms. The television studio was to be near an electronic shop where the students could learn how to design and repair television equipment. There was to be a radio station and a recording studio so that students could learn not only how to sing but how to record. The business department was to be located near so that students who wanted to be entertainers could learn the whole business. Parents and teachers wanted to end the exploitation by agents and business men from other ethnic groups. Students majoring in performing arts at Forrestville were to learn accounting, business law, income tax, everything needed to control and manage their talents.

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[23] The Social Center is a recreation program established in the school after school hours by the Chicago Board of Education.

There was to be an Olympic sized swimming pool, a ballet room, and a little theatre that was to offer opportunities for unique techniques in the use of sociodrama for teaching reading to those who despaired of ever learning how with books. Here the students were to use videotapes and casettes to learn to read. Near the little theatre the sewing rooms were situated so that costumes for plays could be made. So located were the art rooms and the woodshops for making scenery for the theatre.

For students who wanted to be professionals, performing arts was to be the motivating dynamic. Independent study situations were built in to the academic departments of mathematics, social studies, science, biology and language. A large library was located in the front of the school with private carrels and listening posts to accommodate independent learning. Every effort was made to maximize the use of the multi-media.

Through the interaction of parents, teachers and students several new entries were to appear in the curriculum. Considerable blackening took place in less than a year. Even when the school was empty a visitor could not mistake the fact that this was a black school. Pictures of black heroes went up beside George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. And Jeff Donaldson went up beside van Gogh.

Music concerts would offer Beethoven and B. B. King, Yardbird and Mozart. Dance concerts would show ballet with the bugaboo. The Black Experience, however, was extolled and emphasized. New materials had to be written and new sets of knowledge had to be produced. The new high school, named Martin Luther King, Jr., opened its doors on June 28, 1971. Whether or not it delivers the great opportunities which its facility promises remains to be seen. The curriculum, its content, teaching and its methodology, the administration and its organization and decision-making and its collectivity all must emphasize the values of land, liberty and life. To make this school a vehicle for change for the black students who attend, new values must replace those now strangling educational processes. This is the real revolution.

A highly motivated principal and staff will be required to resist cooptation by the line-staff hierarchy with its arbitrary and authoritarian decisions. No such movements are now discernible. In fact, several changes in the physical facility have been made already to prevent certain changes. The new school was to have had no general study halls which are dumping grounds for students for whom the school has made no provisions. It has two. There were to have been no EMH divisions (Educable Mentally Handicapped). The EMH students were to be absorbed by the Performing Arts Core Curriculum. There are seven EMH divisions in the new school.

There is little resistance to the propaganda being dumped into the community by certain members of the professional bureaucracy who resist change, regarding academic preparation and college bound requirements for all, a countermovement to revert to A group norms and standards for B group. Moreover, excluded groups cannot conform to A groups system of "ways of orienting" and B groups must project their new external symbols to control new ways of orienting so that the new system will be geared into the action systems of both A and B. The construction and maintenance of the public schools system is far from mindless. It is purposeful, directed toward the preservation of the B group conformity to A group norms and values.

Carter G. Woodson explained this phenomenon more vividly than most in the following:

The chief difficulty with the education of the Negro is that it has been largely imitation resulting in the enslavement of his mind. Somebody outside the race has desired to try out on Negroes some experiment which interested him and his co-workers; and Negroes, being objects of charity, have received them cordially and have done what they required. In fact, the keynote in the education of the Negro has been to do what he is told to do. Any Negro who has learned to do this is well prepared to function in the American social order as other would have him.[24]

To make the schools a vehicle for cultural pluralism, the institutional values of male superiority, white European superiority and the superiority of people with money must be abandoned. Secondly, education must be for the purpose of self-fulfillment and self-realization by the expansion of the human potential for the best possible interests of each person concerned so that he can lead a more meaningful life in a democracy for the betterment of himself and all mankind

Next, a new all human ethic must be employed. One that could be tried is that of the "Golden Talent." The basic assumption is that people are different. Each person is predisposed toward a certain approach to learning. Some people are sight learners, some kinesthetic, some auditory learners, some abstract thinkers, some manipulate ideas, some memorize. There may be as many approaches to learning as there are people in fact. But everyone has a talent! Observations of these will dictate what is taught to that learner. This curriculum will not be obstructed by racist and/or chauvinist values.

There is no doubt that a democratic culturally pluralistic society is imperative. That fights must be waged on all fronts is accepted. Let Americans tell no more lies, make no more myths, create no more evasions like integration and desegregation, revenue sharing and voucher systems. At long last let's set about to cure the disease and not treat the symptoms. Education can be concerned then with the meeting of men's needs of identity, stimulation and security based on the values of land, liberty and life. Once this occurs, the vital area of man's purpose and existence on this earth becomes the primary focus of his educational experience and the point position at the frontier of knowledge.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Haskins?

STATEMENT OF MR. KENNETH W. HASKINS, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. HASKINS. I am sure that you will hear some repetition in my paper, because in many ways, Mrs. Sizemore and I consider things from very much the same point of view.

I would like to begin by giving a little historical perspective that perhaps will pinpoint the point that Mrs. Sizemore made about the planful form of education.

Let me begin with a quote as taken from a member of the Virginia Legislature around the 1830's:

> We have, as far as possible, closed every avenue by which light might enter their minds. If you could extinguish the capacity to see the light, our work would be completed; they would then be on a level with the beasts of the field, and we should be safe. I am not certain that we would not do it, if we could find out the process . . .

This paper that I will present will deal primarily with the black community. The problems and solutions, however, can be applied to others, such as Puerto Rican, American Indians, and the Mexican Americans.

The quotes used at the outset give an interesting historical perspective. They refer to the system of slavery—a state of being into which black people were to be educated. The current question is how far have we moved from this original purpose? Regardless of what terms we use to describe it.

It is evident that what was kept from and what was put into the minds of black people has preoccupied white America from the beginning of slavery in this country. A complete system, supported by all facets of society, was devised in order to control this. As times changed, this system, giving as little as possible, made necessary accommodations, but never significantly altered its basic pattern.

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[24] Carter G. Woodson, *op. cit.* p. 134.

Kenneth Stamp in The Peculiar Institution describes the steps used during slavery to produce the ideal slave:

> The first step was to establish and maintain strict discipline. A Virginia slaveholder is quoted as stating, "unconditional submission is the only footing upon which slavery should be placed.
>
> The second step was to implant in the bondsmen themselves a consciousness of personal inferiority. They had to 'know their places' to 'feel the difference between master and slave', to understand that bondage was their natural status. They had to feel that African ancestry tainted them, that their color was a badge of degradation.
>
> The third step . . . was to awe them with a sense of their master's enormous power.
>
> The fourth step was to persuade the bondsmen to take an interest in the master's enterprise and to accept his standards of good conduct.
>
> The final step was to impress Negroes with their helplessness, to create in them 'a habit of perfect dependence' upon their masters. Many believed it dangerous to train slaves to be skilled artisans in the towns, because they tended to become self-reliant.

I contend none of the principles used to create the ideal slave have been completely abandoned. All linger in one form or another in the relationships between white Americans and black Americans. The changes that have occurred came about because of the continued refusal of the black community to totally submit to the definitions of their status provided by those who control.

MISEDUCATION OF AMERICA

The education or miseducation of America comes through many forms. In addition to the school, television, movies, plays, popular songs, cartoons, nursery rhymes, all play a part. At one time, all of these were used to help implant the feeling of personal inferiority in the minds of black people, and conversely, personal superiority in the minds of whites.

Slaves codes, and later Jim Crow laws, further demonstrated these differences, while adding the attempt at strict discipline and the demonstration of the "master's" enormous power.

State governments, and all kinds of vigilante groups and lynch mobs participated in this. The drive to impress the black man with his helplessness also continues today as black people are skillfully kept out of decisionmaking roles—not only for the general community, but even in the communities which are almost totally populated by them.

The school, and such skills as reading and writing, have always had a central role in this struggle. From the beginning, reading and writing were singled out as tools to be withheld from black people at any cost. Other means of communication were partially destroyed by breaking up families; outlawing the use of drums; and not allowing black people to gather without a white person being present.

In return, black people sought to acquire the ability to read and write wherever they could. During reconstruction, in places where it was possible, black people built and opened schools. This occurred on the Sea Islands even before the Freedmen's Bureau was created.

In South Carolina and other States where black people constituted a meaningful group in the State legislature, public education was started for the first time; and where the Freedmen's Bureau opened schools—grandparents, parents, and children all came to learn. The importance of black education to white America is seen again in the first activities of the Ku Klux Klan.

I quote from William L. Katz, eyewitness:

> The main Klan targets were Negro officials, teachers and successful farmers . . . The attacks on Negro and white teachers and schools for freedmen did not cease. Samuel Allen, a Negro teacher ,was attacked by a mob in 1869 because he had "committed a great wrong; I had a Sunday School" . . . An Alabama teacher was warned to "dismiss the school immediately or prepare yourself" . . . In all the Southern states, schools were set ablaze and teachers beaten or forced to leave the state.

Katz states further:

> The objectives of the Klansmen did not include the murder or removal of all Negroes from the South. Their purpose was to keep the Southern Negro ignorant and under white control.

The North to a lesser degree had the same attitudes. A school in Connecticut that took one black girl and later more, that set up the reason for legislation that placed the white teacher in jail. Many States did not provide for the education of black children. Most unions barred black people from membership and from apprenticeship programs. In the North, also, schools created for or by blacks were destroyed, and teachers intimidated.

All of the work done by black people and some white people to alter the situation so that equality could be achieved, has not changed the basic fabric of this country. We still have a society that can tolerate or encourage a school system that fails poor black children, but would immediately mobilize itself if it was not educating middle-class white children. It is not too farfetched to believe that it is mobilizing itself, as it did before, in fear that black people as a group might become educated.

It is upon this base that the present educational system is built. History makes the current questions around job security and intimidation of teachers appear mild. In any case, black people feel they can no longer accept their definitions from white America. Growing numbers of others—Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and some poor whites—are reaching similar conclusions.

What happens to the master-slave relationship when the "master" still sees himself in this role while the "slave" will no longer submit to being a slave? If we use the formula handed down by history, it will be repression by a show of force—a look at the police used at Ocean-Hill Brownsville, I.S. 201, and on college campuses, indicate that perhaps we have not come very far.

It is within this context—the history and the importance of the minds of children in considering social change—that the movement for community control of schools takes place.

COLONIAL MENTALITY RIGHTS

There remains, in this country, a kind of colonial mentality that gives white people rights in the black community that have never been afforded black people in the white community.

The intention of black people is to throw off all aspects of this colonial or master-slave relationship that remains in their communities.

At this point, let me state that this term "community" can encompass from the home of one black person to the black people of the world.

The essence of colonialism and slavery is: who has control over whom; who makes decisions; who decides which people make a living; who decides what is culturally acceptable and culturally unacceptable; who decides the way of life. The movement for community control of schools addresses itself to all this.

I'd like to discuss a little of the current movement, from my point of view. As examples, in one or two instances, I will utilize some experiences from the Morgan School, and I have quotes from a position statement made by a group of black educators in 1968, who stated that:

> Black people in American cities are in the process of developing the power to assume control of these public and private institutions in our community. The single institution which carries the heaviest responsibility for dispensing or promulgating those values which identifies a group's consciousness of itself is the educational system. To leave the education of black children in the hands of people who are white and who are racist is tantamount to suicide.

And another quote I'd like to use, which makes a projection, is one from Preston Wilcox in an article he wrote in the New Generation, called "Education for Black Liberation."

> If Blacks were to make their own decisions about their own educational needs, would they deliberately transmit outmoded skills to their students? Would they teach children blindly to respect policemen who brutalize their friends and neighbors? Would they fail to equip students with the skills needed to solve some of their own community's problems? Would they forget to include in classroom discussion the problems faced daily by ghetto youth? Would they deliberately screw up the judgment of the kids by teaching them the 'right' way to live within a free and democratic society that has yet to be produced?

There are two major facets to the current movement for community control of schools. Although they overlap and are being dealt with simultaneously, they must, at times, be looked at separately.

One facet is the taking of control itself. This, in the main, political, and must be seen in this light. The amount of energy, time, and attention given to this depends upon how tenaciously those presently in control hold on to their power. Control must be complete to be effective. The ability of those presently in control to veto or sabotage the new decisionmakers will hamper the ability to make those changes that are necessary.

The other facet deals with the action that will be taken, once the decisionmaking power is transferred to the black community. The kinds of action will also depend upon how complete the shift of powers are. From current experience, it appears that some powers are released fairly easily—others seem to be held onto with a tenacity that defies description.

There remains certain techniques utilized by those currently controlling the schools to allow them to take back even those few powers which have changed hands.

Community control of the schools is not new. The white community in America has always controlled their schools. The white community in America has also controlled the schools attended by black people, even in situations where the schools were attended by only black students. The results have been disastrous for black people.

No matter what is said regarding the political struggle for power, the original purpose of the black community was to try to stop the miseducation of their children and to remove them from the influence of a system that was insensitive and/or inadequate to their needs. The next step was to be the provision of a good education for their children.

The powers that different local school boards in the urban communities are demanding are similar. They see the community school board as the governing body of the school or schools which make up the community school system. They feel the community board must have broad powers over all aspects of the schools' operations. They feel that it cannot be merely an advisory or consultative body to an administrator who is basically responsible to a system over which the community has no control.

COMMUNITY BOARD TO CONTROL

The community board must control—to the maximum extent—staffing, curriculum, financing, outside resources, use of the physical plant, and planning for any new facilities.

Even though many have made evaluations of the success or failure of community control, none of the boards in the community-controlled schools in black urban communities have or had all of the powers stated above. Let me take a minute to look at some of the things they have done with some of the powers, and maybe look at some of the things they might do if they had additional power.

In most of the communities the local boards are, of necessity, developing themselves as board members at the same time that they begin operating as a board. In no instance that I know of has the larger system provided these local boards with those funds necessary for their own education and operation.

Boards for the cities have a clerk, a legal adviser, some expense accounts, a larger advisory staff, and in many instances, administrative aides. Some of the local boards have been able to attract funds from private foundations for minimal operation, but even this has, at times, been criticized. Even with this handicap, statements of policy, bylaws, articles of incorporation, reports to the community, and other types of documents, have come from these bodies.

Most of these reflect a real attempt to drastically change the ingredients that make up what we know as the large urban school system.

The first thing to be noticed when one looks at the transfer of power is that in no instance was power given directly to the community. The choice of the final decisionmaker never seems to be very clear in the original agreements. All projects that I know of started by including a university among the decisionmakers. Some included larger community agencies not directly related to the children attending the school.

Morgan Community School provides one example of this. Although the parents had been the ones pushing for changes, the school was actually turned over to Antioch College, and the amount of power parents and community members were to wield was seen as little or none.

In a memo of May 1967, the then-superintendent of schools, Carl F. Hansen, stated:

> A proposal is being developed between Antioch College and the school system for an experimental demonstration in urban teaching at the Morgan-Morgan Annex Elementary School . . . While the details of the proposal are yet to be worked out, the superintendent wishes to advise the board that the plan concept has the full endorsement of the administration, provided the operational aspects can be coordinated.

The powers given to Antioch were: full responsibility for curriculum formation and instruction; recommendation of teachers and other staff members; staff organization; funds to be allocated for books, supplies, maintenance and staffing; the right to seek funds from outside sources to supplement existing sources.

POWER OF THE COMMUNITY

The power of the community was stated in this manner:

> The school community will be active participants through the Parents' Advisory Board, to be comprised of parents elected by the parents-guardians of pupils attending the school. The involvement of parents through the Parents Advisory Board should improve the relevance of the school program to the needs of the community.

There were some changes with the new arrangements, once it began. It became evident, however, that the university would have as much trouble addressing itself to the needs of the black community as the larger system had. There were, however, staff from the university available for immediate questions and complaints.

The Parents' Committee began to see itself a bit differently. They entitled themselves a "local board" and began to question certain priorities.

The university had done their best planning around utilizing the school as a laboratory, and as an institution to train their students. The local board was primarily interested in service to the children in the school. They were somewhat resentful of some of the unilateral decisions made by the university, and they looked to the university for funds for program and advice.

And slowly the relationship between the university and the local board began to change. Parents, interestingly enough, as in most movements for community control, saw their first area of concern really the need to improve the relevance of the school program to meet the needs of the community, and showed concern about the affective climate of the school.

Parents began questioning the system instead of blaming their children for the failures. This change is a concept basic to the whole movement.

All black communities that have any semblance of control have moved from this premise. The community felt that those working in the school should be accountable to them, in much the same way that any other producer is accountable to the consumer.

They wanted a school not alien to the community, but an integral part of the community. With help from professional staff, those attitudes and aspects of behavior which were important began to be put into words and then into practice.

DEMANDS OF PARENTS AND BOARD

Some of these demands, as expressed by the parents and the Board of the Morgan School, were evident in their first annual report, to the community, in 1968. They stated such things as the following:

> People want the kind of school where their children will learn those things which they need to know in order to survive in this society. People want the kind of school where they and their children are treated with respect and allowed to carry themselves with dignity.
>
> People want the kind of school that welcomes them and their children and does not insult them by indicating that something is wrong with the way they look, speak, or dress.
>
> They believe that the school staff and school board should be responsible to them and their needs and should not dictate to them what someone else has decided is good for them.
>
> The school should take its character from the people living in the community and from the children utilizing the school rather than rigidly defining itself as an institution accepting only those people who already fit into a set definition.

With this as a basis, many changes will occur. The most basic change would deal with self-concepts. Black children will not be taught to be ashamed of blackness. Spanish-speaking children will not be taught that it is shameful to speak the language of their parents. Navajo children will learn of their culture and speak their language before they extend their boundaries to more alien cultures.

There will be a minimal amount of social problems in the school because the norms at the school will be those of the community in which the school is located.

Such practices as suspension and expulsions will cease, because if the school sees itself as an integral part of the community, it has a responsibility to help solve all problems and not avoid them by "pushing them out" of the school.

This then leads to a different use of psychologists, social workers, and other ancillary help. The job of the school becomes inclusion rather than exclusion. All members of the community are the "public."

The total climate of the school begins to change. Community people are usually hired as staff members, further tying community and school together. As the range of tolerated behavior for children is increased, staff also begins to relax. Soon the school takes on aspects of a community itself.

A further step regarding behavior is to look at the many unimportant rules and regulations which constantly bring adults and children into conflict. Many of these particularly concern giving the children more respect.

There are further implications for the organization of the school: teaching methods, curriculum content; use of the building, if we respond to the community and its needs.

In a community where there is much transiency, an individualized program is of extreme importance. One must have a situation in which the coming and going of children does not interfere with the progress of the individual. Communities in which many parents work and children begin to arrive at school an hour before formal opening.

should provide a morning program similar to the usual after-school programs. The need for free breakfast and lunch can be ascertained.

Other things were done in Morgan, in response to the community, such as a clinic in the office of the principal.

Changes in the curriculum were made to come closer to what was the nature of the community.

The above are but a few examples of changes that can be made when one has the power to make decisions different from those passed down through a large bureaucratic system which is antagonistic or disinterested. There are many other changes that could be made if other powers were in the hands of the local board. Control of finances would appear to be the most crucial. This is the power that is held onto most tenaciously.

CONTROL OF FUNDS

The ability to raise and receive outside funds, which was seen as legal for Antioch, was withheld from the local board for over a year "while further discussion takes place." We all recognize that in this country, the one who controls the funds is ultimately in the most powerful position.

If funds were controlled by local boards, a great deal more of the school moneys would be spent locally.

Such things as compensatory education, which people try to imply is an alternative to community control—is not seen by us in that way. Compensatory education would continue. The main difference would be that what is compensation would be defined by the local community, and probably such purposes as "to change the behavior patterns of children with poor background and instill in them the importance of proper social behavior and achievement to enable them to accomplish their goals" would no longer be popular.

Goals such as "general cultural enrichment" would remain, but the culture to be emphasized would be from the black community rather than what has been practiced to date.

In such areas as art, music, dance and literature, the highest horizon would be the understanding and appreciation of their own.

Community control then addresses itself to the pluralism in our society and attempts to eliminate decisions for black people being made by those who believe that blacks are uneducable and unteachable. Many traps are being set to hold the movement back. I believe, however, that this movement is irreversible. The subterfuges to delay progress would be another paper. But let me list them briefly.

One method is to confuse community control with such things as decentralization, model schools, experimental schools, or districts, subsystem or community schools of the type originating in Flint, Mich.

Another method is to try to dilute control by proposing "equal partnerships." The partnerships include such things as labor, industry, universities, educators, government, and representatives of nonprofit agencies.

The black community has at one time or another been in partnership with all of these groups only to be left disappointed. These past partnerships have been formed around more appropriate problems. Industry can help the black community by providing jobs. Labor can help by opening up their membership and apprenticeship programs. Educators and universities can help by examining their own biases and dealing with them. Government can enforce laws already on the books, and further aid self-determination of black people.

When dealing with the education of black children in this country, their schools must be supervised, evaluated, and corrected by those who are most concerned about the children—the parents and other members of the community who live with the children through their total life experiences. Others can work for and advise the community, but final decisionmaking and control cannot be shared.

(The prepared statement follows:)

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KENNETH W. HASKINS

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

"We have, as far as possible closed every avenue by which light might enter their minds. If you could extinguish the capacity to see the light, our work would be completed; they would then be on a level with the beasts of the field, and we should be safe. I am not certain that we would not do it, if we could find out the process . . ."

A member of the Virginia Legislature after The Nat Turner Revolt.

Woodson, Carter G. The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861 Arno Press & The New York Times 1968—original publishers—The Associated Publishers Inc., Washington, D.C. 1919

"Our laws positively and utterly forbid any efficient general educational system, and they do it wisely, too, for just begin and thoroughly educate one generation and the whole thing would be blown sky high. If we do not give them liberty, they would take it."[1]

COMMUNITY CONTROL OF SCHOOLS

This paper will deal primarily with The Black Community. The problems and the solutions can, however, be applied to others such as Puerto Rican, American Indians, and the Mexican Americans.

The quotes used at the outset give an interesting historical perspective. They refer to the system of slavery—a state of being into which Black people were to be "educated". The current question is how far have we moved from this original purpose?

It is evident that what was kept from and what was put into the minds of Black people has preoccupied white America from the beginning of slavery in this country. A complete system, supported by all facets of society was devised in order to control this. As times changed, this system—giving as little as possible—made necessary accommodations never significantly altering its basic pattern.

Kenneth Stamp in *The Peculiar Institution* describes the steps used during slavery to produce the ideal slave. "The first step was to establish and maintain strict discipline. A Virginia slaveholder is quoted as stating, 'unconditional submission is the only footing upon which slavery should be placed. It is precisely similar to the attitude of a minor to his parent, or a soldier to his general'. A South Carolinian states, 'he is never for a moment to exercise either his will or judgement in opposition to a positive order'.

"The second step was to implant in the bondsmen themselves a consciousness of personal inferiority. They had to 'know their places' to 'feel the difference between master and slave', to understand that bondage was their natural status. They had to feel that African ancestry tainted them, that their color was a badge of degradation."

"The third step . . . was to awe them with a sense of their masters enormous power. The only principle upon which slavery could be maintained . . . was the 'principle of fear' ".

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[1] Harriet Beecher Stowe, "Uncle Tom's Cabin" p. 238.

"The fourth step was to persuade the bondsmen to take an interest in the master's enterprise and to accept his standards of good conduct".

The final step was "to impress Negroes with their helplessness, to create in them 'a habit of perfect dependence' upon their masters. Many believed it dangerous to train slaves to be skilled artisans in the towns, because they tended to become self-reliant".

None of the principles used to create the ideal slave have been completely abandoned. All linger in one form or another in the relationships between white Americans and Black Americans. The changes that have occurred came about because of the continued refusal of the Black community to totally submit to the definitions of their status provided by the white community.

The education or mis-education of America comes through many forms. In addition to the school—television, movies, plays, popular songs, cartoons, nursery rhymes, all play a part. At one time all of these were used to help implant the feeling of personal inferiority in the minds of Black people—and conversely personal superiority in the minds of whites. Slave codes and later Jim Crow laws—enforcement agencies such as the police-army, etc., further demonstrated these differences while adding the attempt at strict discipline and the demonstration of the "masters" enormous power. State governments, and all kinds of vigilante groups and lynch mobs participated in this. The drive to impress the Black man with his helplessness also continues into today as Black people are skillfully kept out of decision making roles—not only for the general community—but even in the communities which are almost totally populated by them.

The school, and such skills as reading and writing have always had a central role in this struggle. From the beginning—reading and writing were singled out as tools to be withheld from Black people at any cost. Other means of communication were partially destroyed by breaking up families; outlawing the use of drums; and not allowing Black people to gather without a white person being present.

In return, Black people sought to acquire the ability to read and write wherever they could. During reconstruction in places where it was possible—Black people built and opened schools. This occurred on the Sea Islands even before the Freedmen's Bureau was created. In South Carolina and other states where Black people constituted a meaningful group in the state legislature, public education was started for the first time; and where the Freedmen's Bureau opened schools—grandparents, parents and children all came to "learn". The importance of Black education to white America is seen again in the first activities of The Ku Klux Klan.

"The main Klan targets were Negro officials, teachers and successful farmers. . . . The attacks on Negro and white teachers and schools for freedmen did not cease. Samuel Allen, a Negro teacher, was attacked by a mob in 1869 because he had 'committed a great wrong; I had a Sunday School'. . . . An Alabama teacher was warned to 'dismiss the school immediately or prepare yourself'. . . . In all the Southern states schools were set ablaze and teachers beaten or forced to leave the state". (William L. Katz, *Eyewitness*, Pitman Publishing Co. 1967, pp. 266–268.)

Katz states further "The objectives of the Klansmen did not include the murder or removal of all Negroes from the South. Their purpose was to keep the southern Negro *ignorant and under white control*" (my emphasis).

The North to a lesser degree had the same attitudes. A school in Connecticut that took one Black girl and later more was the reason for legislation that placed the white teacher in jail. Many states did not provide for the education of Black children. Most unions barred Black people from membership and from apprenticeship programs. In the North also, schools created for or by Blacks were destroyed, and teachers intimiated.

All of the work done by Black people and some white people to alter the situation so that equality could be achieved, has not changed the basic fabric of this country. We still have a society that can tolerate or encourage a school system that fails poor Black children but would immediately mobilize itself (as it did around the first Sputnik) if it was not educating—middle-class white children. It is not too far fetched to believe that it is mobilizing itself, as it did before, in fear that Black people as a group will become educated.

It is upon this base that the present educational system is built. History makes the current questions around job security and intimidation of teachers appear mild. In any case Black people can no longer accept their definitions from white

America. Growing numbers of others—Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and some whites are reaching similar conclusions.

What happens to the master-slave relationship when the "master" still sees himself in this role while the "slave" will no longer submit to being a "slave"? If we use the formula handed down by history it will be repression by a show of force . . . a look at the police used at Ocean-Hill Brownsville, I.S. 201 and on college campuses indicate that perhaps we have not come very far.

It is within this context—the history and the importance of the minds of children in considering social change—that the movement for community control of schools takes place. There remains, in this country, a kind of colonial mentality that gives white people rights in the Black community that have never been afforded Black people in the white community.

The intention of Black people is to throw off all aspects of this colonial or master-slave relationship that remains in *their* communities. (This term community can encompass from the home of one Black person to the Black people of the world). The essence of colonialism and slavery is: who has control over whom; who makes decisions; who decides which people make a living; who decides what is culturally acceptable and culturally unacceptable; who decides the "way of life". The movement for Community Control of schools addresses itself to all this.

Current Movement

"Black people in American cities are in the process of developing the power to assume control of these public and private institutions in our community. The single institution which carries the heaviest responsibility for dispensing or promulgating those values which identifies a group's consciousness of itself is the educational system. To leave the education of Black children in the hands of people who are white and who are racist is tantamount to suicide".

Position Statement—Five State Organizing Committee for Community Control, January 25, 1968—pg. 1.

"If Blacks were to make their own decisions about their own educational needs, would they deliberately transmit outmoded skills to their students? Would they teach children blindly to respect policemen who brutalize their friends and neighbors? Would they fail to equip students with the skills needed to solve some of their own community's problems? Would they forget to include in classroom discussion the problems faced daily by ghetto youth? Would they deliberately screw up the judgment of the kids by teaching them the 'right' way to live within a free and democratic society that has yet to be produced"?

Preston Wilcox, "Education for Black Liberation", *New Generation,* Winter 1969, pg. 18–19.

There are two major facets to the current movement for community control of schools. Although they overlap and are being dealt with simultaneously—they must, at times, be looked at separately.

One facet is the taking of control itself. This is, in the main, political and must be seen in this light. The amount of energy, time and attention given to this depends upon how tenaciously those presently in control, hold on to their power. Control must be complete to be effective. The ability of those presently in control to veto or sabotage the new decision makers will hamper the ability to make those changes that are necessary .

The other facet deals with the action that will be taken, once, the decision making power is transferred to the Black community. The kinds of action will also depend upon how complete the shift of powers are. From current experience, it appears that some powers are released fairly easily . . . others seem to be held onto with a tenacity that defies description. There remains certain techniques utilized by those currently controlling the schools to allow them to 'take back' even those few powers which have changed hands.

Community control of the schools is not new. The white community in America have always controlled their schools. The white community in America has also controlled the schools attended by Black people. even in situations where the schools were attended only by Black students. The results have been disastrous for Black people. No matter what is said regarding the political struggle for power—the original purpose of the Black community was to try to stop the mis-education of their children and to remove them from the influence of a system that was insensitive and/or inadequate to their needs. The next step was to be the provision of a good education for their children.

The powers that different local school boards in the urban communities are demanding are similar. They see the Community School Board as the governing body of the school or schools which make up the community school system. They feel the Community Board must have broad powers over all aspects of the school's operations—it cannot be merely an advisory or consultative body to an administrator who is basically responsible to a system over which the community has no control. The Community Board must control—to the maximum extent—staffing, curriculum, financing, outside resources, use of the physical plant, and planning for any new facilities.

Even though many have made evaluations of the success or failure of "community control", none of the Boards in the community controlled schools in Black urban communities have or had all of the powers stated above. Let us examine those they have had and what they have done with them. We can then look at what they might plan to do if they had the additional powers.

In most of the communities, the local boards are of necessity developing themselves as board members at the same time that they begin operating as a board. In no instance, that I know of, has the larger system provided these local boards with those funds necessary for their own education and operation. Boards for the cities have a clerk, a legal advisor, some expense accoounts, a larger advisory staff, and in many instances administrative aides. Some of the local boards have been able to attract funds from private foundations for minimal operation—but even this has, at times, been criticized. Even with this handicap—statements of policy, by-laws, articles of incorporation, reports to the community and other types of documents have come from these bodies. Most of these reflect a real attempt to drastically change the ingredients that make up what we know as the large urban school system. The selection of which powers to give up easily, does not appear to be by chance. Basically the pattern is the same in all cities.

The first thing to be noticed when one looks at the transfer of power is that in no instance was power given directly to the community. The choice of the final decision maker never seems to be very clear in the original agreements. All projects started by including a University among the decision makers. Some included larger community agencies not directly related to the children attending the school. The influence of the teacher organization varies according to the city. Finally, the larger system continues to retain very crucial powers.

Morgan Community School provides one example of this. Although the parents had been the ones pushing for changes, the school was actually turned over to Antioch College and the amount of power parents and community members were to wield was seen as little or none.

In a memo to The District of Columbia Board of Education in May 1967, from the then Superintendent of Schools, Carl F. Hansen, the following was stated:

"A proposal is being developed between Antioch College and the school system for an experimental demonstration in urban teaching at the Morgan-Morgan Annex Elementary School . . . While the details of the proposal are yet to be worked out, the Superintendent wishes to advise The Board that the plan concept has the full endorsement of the administration provided the operational aspects can be coordinated".

The powers given to Antioch were: full responsibility for curriculum formation and instruction; recommendation of teachers and other staff members subject to the approval of The Board of Education; staff organization—not to exceed ordinary budgetary expenditures; to be allocated funds for books, supplies, maintenance and staffing in proportion to "current tables of standards". The right to seek funds from outside sources to supplement existing sources.

The power of the community was stated in this manner:

"The school community will be active participants through the Parents' Advisory Board, to be comprised of parents elected by the parents guardians of pupils attending the school. The involvement of parents through The Parents' Advisory Board should improve the relevance of the school program to the needs of the community".

The basic powers then, given to the university ended up encompassing the following of the powers The Community Board sees as necessary.

A. *Staffing:* Selection of own staff and decision making as to type and number within budgetary limitations. Professional staff are to meet Central Board requirements.

B. *Curriculum:* Almost complete control over curriculum and teaching methods.

C. *Fiscal Responsibilities:* Really very little except where the University raised their own funds. Although initial changes could be made in some budgetary items, the same methods of ordering and purchasing were maintained, keeping control essentially in the hands of The Central Administration.

D. *Outside Resources:* Complete autonomy was given to the university in soliciting funds from outside of the school system and for administering these funds.

E. *Physical Plant:* The university was given autonomy in use of the building. Concepts about planning for new buildings did not occur until another stage in the project.

What we had, then, was not community control, but a shift of power from one element in the white power structure to another. The new institution in control was perhaps a bit more benevolent—but never the less was the legal decision maker.

With the new arrangement things began to change. It became evident, however, that the university would have as much trouble addressing itself to the needs of the Black Community as the larger system had. There were, however, staff from the university available for immediate questions and complaints.

The Parent Advisory Committee was elected after the school year began and all plans had been made. There was input by community people in the initial planning. It seems though that the wants of the majority of the poor Black Community had not been fully clear.

Differences between the University and the Local Board (a title they chose rather than Parent Advisory Committee) were very quickly seen.

The University had done their best planning around utilizing the school as a laboratory and as an institution to train *their* students. The Local Board, was primarily interested in service to the children in the school. They looked to the university for funds for program and advice. They were somewhat resentful of some of the unilateral decisions made by the university.

Slowly, the relationship between the university and the Local Board began to change. One of the outcomes which had been expected as a result of the creation of the Parents' Advisory Committee—to "improve the relevance of the school program to the needs of the community"—was seen by the principal and The Local Board as a necessary first step. The university's representatives were still dealing with terms such as "freedom" which they found difficult to translate into practice and with the classic subject areas such as mathematics and science.

The university, had theoretically described the base upon which the program would take shape. It's approaches were new and creative but it was unable to capture the style of the community that made up the bulk of the school population.

The priority which was set as the community began to assume control was the *affective climate* of the school. Parents had involved themselves in this— questioning the system instead of blaming themselves and their children for the failures. This change in concept is basic to the whole movement. All Black communities that have any semblance of control have moved from this premise.

The community felt that those working in the schools should be accountable to them in much the same way that any other producer is accountable to the consumer. They wanted a school that was not alien to the community, but an integral part of the community. With help from the professional staff those attitudes and aspects of behavior which were important began to be put into words and then into practice.

Some of these demands as expressed by the parents and Board of The Morgan School in The First Annual Report to the Community in June 1968 are:

"People want the kind of school where their children will learn those things which they need to know in order to survive in this society. People want the kind of school where they and their children are treated with respect and allowed to carry themselves with dignity".

"People want the kind of school that welcomes them and their children and does not insult them by indicating that something is wrong with the way they look, speak, or dress".

"They believe that the school staff and school board should be responsible to them and their needs and should not dictate to them what someone else has decided is 'good for them' ".

"The school should take its character from the people living in the community and from the children utilizing the school rather than rigidly defining itself as an institution accepting only those people who already fit in to a set definition".

With this as a basis, many changes will occur. The most basic change would deal with self-concepts. Black children will not be taught to be ashamed of

Blackness. Spanish speaking children will not be taught that it is shameful to speak the language of their parents. Navajo children will learn of their culture and speak their language before they extend their boundaries to more alien cultures.

There will be a minimal amount of social problems in the school because the norms of the school will be those of the community in which the school is located. Any aspect of behavior which is acceptable in the home and the streets will have to be tolerated in the school.

Such practices as suspension and expulsions will cease. If the school sees itself as an integral part of the community it has a responsibility to help solve all problems and not avoid them by "pushing them out" of the school. This then leads to a different use of psychologists, social workers and other auxiliary help. The job of the school becomes inclusion rather than exclusion. All members of the community are the "public".

The total climate of the school begins to change. Community people are hired as staff members, further tying school and community together. As the range of tolerated behavior for children is increased, staff also begin to relax. Soon the school takes on aspects of a community itself.

A further step regarding behavior is to look at the many unimportant rules and regulations which constantly bring adults and children into conflict.

Do we really need to force children to go only one way on a staircase? What is wrong with chewing gum or eating potato chips in school? If children seldom walk in the street why expect different behavior in school? If fighting is part of the rituals the boys in the community engage in for status purposes—should it be a 'crime' in the school? Can we really be happy to see the children when they come to school, even if they are late? Can children have the freedom to leave the class when they need to with the adults assuming they will behave responsibly?

As one reduces the areas where adults and children must interact in a negative way—negative behavior diminishes. Children who were once hostile do not act or react in this way. They are respected as they are.

There are further implications for organization of the school; teaching methods; curriculum content; use of the building if we respond to the community and it's needs.

In a community where there is much transiency, an individualized program is of extreme importance. One must have a situation in which the coming and going of children does not interfere with the progress of the individual. Communities in which many parents work and children begin to arrive at school an hour before formal opening should provide a morning program similar to the usual after-school programs. The need for free breakfast and lunch can be ascertained.

What was the office of the principal at Morgan School, became a clinic, administered by Children's Hospital. This clinic served the total community from 2:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. daily. The building is open until 10:00 p.m. every night. Our auditorium has been used for a variety of community functions including part of the funeral of the chairman of The Local Board in the Spring of 1969

Curriculum has been left to individual teachers to develop. Each taking their strongest subject area and continually developing it. It is the belief of the Morgan staff that one who loves a subject and knows it well can transmit this love to others. The one rigid limitation upon curriculum development stems from the overall philosophy. "There will be no lessons or subject matter that degrades or belittles the children or the community from which they come."

The above are but a few examples of changes that can be made when one has the power to make decisions different from those passed down through a large bureaucratic system which is antagonistic or disinterested. There are many other changes that could be made if other powers were in the hands of The Local Board. Control of finances would appear the most crucial. This is the power that is held onto most tenaciously. The ability to raise and receive outside funds which was seen as legal for Antioch was withheld from The Local Board for over a year "while further discussion takes place." We all recognize that in this country, the one who controls the funds is ultimately in the most powerful position.

If funds were controlled by local boards, a great deal more of the school monies would be spent locally. Food services, stationery, equipment and maintenance would be purchased from local businesses and tradesmen, thereby uplifting the community in general. Textbooks and instructional materials would not be purchased unless they met the criteria set by the local community. Contracts for building and repairs would be let out by the community. Discriminatory practices by business, industry and labor would be questioned by minority communities as they dispersed these funds.

Additional programs, which usually fall under the category of "compensatory education" would continue. The main difference would be that what is compensation would be defined by the local community. Probably such purposes as "to change behavior patterns of children of poor backgrounds and to instill in them the importance of proper social behavior and achievement to enable them to accomplish their goals" would not be popular. Goals such as "general cultural enrichment" would remain, but the culture to be emphasized would be from the Black community rather than what has been practiced to date. In areas such as art, music, dance and literature, the highest horizon would be the understanding and appreciation of their own.

Community control then addresses itself to the pluralism in our society and attempts to eliminate decisions for Black people being made by those who believe that Blacks are uneducable and unteachable. Many traps are being set to hold the movement back. This movement, however, is irreversible. The subterfuges to delay progress would be another paper. To list them briefly must suffice.

One method is to confuse community control with such projects as decentralization, model schools, experimental schools or districts, sub-systems or community schools of the type originating in Flint, Michigan.

Another method is to try to dilute control by the community by proposing "equal partnerships". The "partners" include: labor, industry, universities, educators, government, and representatives of non-profit agencies.

The Black community has at one time or another been in partnership with all of these groups only to be left disappointed. These past partnerships have been around more appropriate problems. Industry can help the Black community by providing jobs. Labor can help by opening up their membership and apprenticeship programs. Educators and universities can help by examining their own biases and dealing with them. Government can enforce laws already on books and further aid the self-determination of Black people.

When dealing with the education of Black children in this country—their schools must be supervised, evaluated, and corrected by those who are most concerned about the children—the parents and other members of the community who live with the children through their total life experiences. Others can work for and advise the community but final decision making and control cannot be shared.

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Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Mr. Haskins and Dr. Sizemore, for your most useful contributions.

Mr. Haskins, as I understand it, you have had experience not only with Morgan Community School, but also earlier at Greenburgh, where you served in what was supposed to be one of the better examples of an "integrated school environment."

Thus, you have had experience in both kinds of situations. Would you comment on the differences as you see them, as you lived them?

EXPERIENCE IN INTEGRATED SCHOOL

Mr. Haskins. Yes. From my point of view, the problems were the same. The concept of integration very quickly seemed to be defined differently by the white community and the black community.

Greenburgh, was I guess one of the first communities that did a lot around desegregation. They had an arrangement—I think Berkeley has something like that now—in which every classroom reflected the makeup of the community.

The school population was about 35 percent black, and it was not all poor blacks, so that there were some middle-class black people too, which some people seemed to feel necessary.

The biggest problem was that the input in the decisionmaking on the part of the black people in no way came up to their representation in the community.

And it just was taken as a natural order of things. Little things, for instance, the first time that the student organization in the high school had more blacks on it than whites, there was a great deal of stir in the community, when for years before that it had been all white and no one raised the question, because this seemed to be the natural order of things.

Most people felt—and this I think refers back to the statement Dr. Sizemore made—that the purpose of integration was to benefit the black children, and really the white community was doing them a favor, by allowing this to happen.

And originally, to go back a little further, the reason for the distribution of children in the schools in that way had little to do with race. It had to do with saving money. Because physically, the situation had occurred in the community that was opposite to what usually occurs; the newest school that was underpopulated was in the black part of the community, and the old school was being overpopulated because of new families from New York moving in—the question was whether to build another school or to find some way so that the balance was a little different.

The solution came when they decided to use one school for the first three grades, and the other school for the second three grades.

Throughout, then, it became one of trying to help black people and trying to help the white community to—if you will, for want of a better term—allow black people to have those things to say about the school, the curriculum, and so forth, that would influence their children.

And everything was a struggle. Even a question of pictures on the wall—could we see that Ebony magazine was used to cut pictures out of as well as Life and Look, and being told by teachers that they didn't know where to find any black dolls to put in the doll corner of the kindergarten. These were the kinds of things that went on.

Now in a way, progress was made; not as much as you would have liked. And then, as usual, there are certain points at which you come up against a stone wall.

What happens to a social situation as the children become a bit older? What happens at the high school level when the athletic team ends up being all black and the cheer leaders are all white? And the kind of panic that the community goes through with that.

And when they changed the plays, for instance, so that they make sure there are no more love stories, once it is integrated. They make it an extravaganza where everybody can be a Roman soldier and not touch anybody.

These are the kinds of fears you run across, which in some way I think dilute the educational experiences that people can have, because you no longer go into things in depth. You keep them superficial.

EFFECTS OF COMMUNITY CONTROL

In community control, working with almost totally black community, those things didn't occur. You taught black history and in some ways those of us who talk about black history like to consider that black history is really only true history, and not the kind of propaganda you get otherwise.

And if children fought in school, you could deal with it as a fight between two kids, and not have to get involved in whether it was a racial incident.

You just had a completely different kind of thing, and I really feel, for the black children in this instance, I would say that the amount of progress that we were able to make, at least for the 2 years I was at Morgan, toward improving reading scores, improving math scores, helping the children feel better about themselves, was done much more easily than I was able to do in what was then called an integrated setting.

Now whether or not community control is the final point to which this country moves, that I don't know. All I know is that at this present time in our history, given the psychological set of both the white and the black community, of the things I would like to see done for black children, I found much more easily done not only when black children were together, but when the parents were in control also, than I found when I had to deal and struggle with many of the things in an integrated setting, although I felt an integrated setting, if it means anything, I was having some impact on the education of some of the white people there.

Senator **MONDALE.** Mrs. Sizemore, have you had, in addition to your experience as director of the Woodlawn project, experience in so-called desegregated or integrated schools?

Dr. **SIZEMORE.** No, except participation as a parent in the desegregation effort in Evanston, Ill.

Senator **MONDALE.** Would you respond to essentially the same question I asked Mr. Haskins—your attitudes and observations and experiences in a so-called desegregated environment, what you have gone through in Evanston as a parent, and your experience as principal of a community school?

INTEGRATION: BURDEN OF BLACKS

Dr. Sizemore. In the desegregation effort in Evanston, Ill., it was a total busing effort, the complete burden of which was on the shoulders of the black community, in that the black children were the children who were bused.

As a resident of Evanston—my family came to Evanston in 1943, and I was a senior at Evanston Township High School from September 1943 until January 1944.

It's a township high school, and everyone who resides in the township attends. So therefore, it is an integrated facility.

Within that facility, at that time, which was in 1944, it was a segregated facility within an integrated institution. In that black people are in certain divisions and in certain classes.

My daughter attended Evanston Township High School in 1962 to 1966, and at that time, almost a little more than 20 years later, it was still an integrated institution and a segregated facility.

When she went there, you could walk through the halls, Senator, and if you saw no blacks in a classroom, then you knew it was advanced trig, chemistry, physics, et cetera. If it was full of blacks, you knew it was basic English, one and two, and basic math, and so forth.

And in extracurricular activities, there were scarcely any black students because there was a requirement stipulated that you could participate in extracurricular activities only if your grade point average was 3.5 or better.

Now this regulation operated to the complete advantage of the white community, in that you didn't have to worry about any social mixing of the black and white students in extracurricular activities because the blacks students simply wouldn't be there because the requirement precluded any kind of participation of that kind.

My daughter was talented in dance and drama. And as Mr. Haskins has stated, the black students were excluded from participation in that area because of the social implications of playing main roles in plays, et cetera.

And the general condition, or state, I should say, of integration in that high school was a very low level. So that the black students really didn't go to the high school in the social sense. They complied with the compulsory school law, they went to the classes, they went to the school. But they were really not a part of it.

Except in athletics. They played basketball.

BUSING CONDITIONS

In elementary school, my mother lived on the corner where the bus stopped every day, Senator, and when the busing operation began, the black children would stand and wait for the bus. They would get on the bus. There were no attendants there, and they would just hustle on as best they could, and as children do, they would play and wrestle, and do these kinds of things.

And there was no adult supervision, except for the driver. The children who were left by the bus were unsupervised. They were just left. I followed the school bus for 3 days—this was in the early days of the integration—and at the school where I visited, the bus came up to the school, and the black children got out of the bus to walk into the school, and the other children in the neighborhood were standing there saying, "Here come the coal cars. Here come the coal cars."

In some of the schools, in these middle-class communities the mothers are generally at home, because this society being a society that values male superiority, has consigned the role of women to the home, and their human potentials are not maximized in the sense that they should be, and they are confined to housekeeping and other menial activities that this society considers unworthy of remuneration.

And so they are at home. And therefore, the schools do not have facilities for lunch. And so when these black children were shipped off into these neighborhoods, they couldn't come home for lunch. And the bus didn't come to take them home, so they had to bring lunches and eat in the schools.

This the teachers resented, because they hadn't had this problem before, because the children went home to lunch, and therefore the teachers had an additional responsibility of having to supervise these black children who had to eat at school.

So they were crowded into classrooms and cubby-holes and closets, and resentful teachers were used to supervise these lunches. It was a very cold and hostile environment, Senator. And many black children were subjected to it in the early years.

EFFORTS OF SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT

Mr. Coffin—Gregory Coffin, who was superintendent of schools at that time—met with parents and I had many opportunities to talk with him about this condition, and he subsequently worked very hard to correct it. He did several things. He tried to relieve the conditions in the lunch rooms by making provisions for the students. They put attendants on the buses. And he tried to employ more black people in the system, in positions like administrative positions, counseling positions, teaching positions, in order to help black children make the necessary adjustments to the hostility they were meeting.

Now in his efforts to do this, he came up against a lot of resistance in the city of Evanston, because Evanston has a large black population for a suburb—close to 25 percent now—and Evanston was about the business at that time of confining this black community in the west side of Evanston, so that it wouldn't spread. It was considered like the black plague and often called the black blight.

And the black people were moving out of the west side into other areas in Evanston, and the city was resisting this movement through zoning laws and other legal and extra-legal operations.

And so Dr. Coffin came up against this community control, Senator; in his effort to assist the black community in adjusting to the hostility it was meeting in its efforts at desegregation, he, too, was dismissed.

So the problems that committed people have to true integration meet with such massive hostility from the community control of white areas, that I see the black people suppressed by this hostility and being the losers in integration.

WOODLAWN ORGANIZATION

Now let's look at community control. In the Woodlawn area of Chicago, where I worked as director of Woodlawn experimental schools district project, there is an organization called the Woodlawn Organization, which is a mass-based community organization, and it collaborated with the University of Chicago, and the Chicago Board of Education, in the Woodlawn experimental schools district project, which was a title III-funded project, whose primary objective was to restructure the social system through a mutuality of effort.

One goal was to change the roles and relationships in the school, and the other was to change the roles and relationships in the community.

And the project was not only concerned with who worked together, but how they worked together.

And there was a community board. Now this community board had three delegations or contingents: One from the University of Chicago, seven members; the Chicago Board of Education, or Chicago public school system, seven members; and one from the Woodlawn Organization with seven members.

Subsequently the University of Chicago gave up three of its seats to the Woodlawn Organization, so Woodlawn then had 10, University of Chicago had four, and the Chicago public school system had seven.

The Chicago public schools then gave up two of their seats to two students at Hyde Park High School, and two teachers in the experimental district, thereby limiting their participation to three seats.

There were 21 members on this board, and this board was to make policy for the three schools in the district—Wordsworth Elementary, Wordsworth Upper Grade, and Hyde Park High School. It is an all-black district, 3,200 students, a kindergarten through 12 system.

VETO POWER

This board was really a recommending board that participated in the initiation stages, but when the decisions were made about whether or not they wanted to do something, it was really left in the hands of the Chicago Board of Education. But the Chicago Board of Education never used its veto powers. Never. Most of the vetos were executed by middle management, central office staff, and the school principals.

Because the memorandum of agreement made between the Chicago Board of Education and the other two participating institutions was very vague, and the line staff was unclear, these many ambiguities furnished the school principals and central office middle management with avoidance routes so that they could circumvent the decisions made by the local community board.

Let me give you some examples. The previous director, who is now superintendent of schools in Newton, Iowa, Dr. Willard Congreve, ordered a couch for his office in December 1968, and it arrived in May 1970.

With short-term, federally funded projects which have only 2 or 3 years to operate, these kinds of purchasing requirements are really obstructive. They keep the project from really doing what the funds said it should do.

And though the community board made allocation of these moneys, the central office middle management still could keep them from getting it.

Also travel vouchers could be obstructed. If parents wanted to go to Atlantic City to attend the AASA convention which is a conservative organization, and they felt it was not responsive to the needs of the parents in the community control, it was obstructed. Though the funds were finally granted, they were cut and were not what the parents thought they should be.

These kinds of obstacles were placed in the way by middle management.

GANG VIOLENCE

But some beautiful things happened. Not in community control, but in citizen participation efforts. One was the alleviation of the very bad gang problem at the Wadsworth Upper Grade Center when the project began. The newspapers and the former principal described this yard as a mini-Vietnam, because there were so many shootings and incidents of violence in the yard.

The parents and the students and the teachers met and addressed themselves to the issue and designed some programs to work on the problem. One was a work-study program so that each one of the Nations could participate in it. These are youth organizations, sometimes called gangs; the Black Disciple Nation, and the Black P. Stone Nation.

And this program afforded an effort for these two groups of young men to talk with each other about this problem, with the idea that they would work toward its alleviation. This program started out with an all-male counseling project with the youth in the school, at Wadsworth Upper Grade Center. These youth were being recruited to meet with ombudsmen from the two youth organizations to address themselves to this problem.

Since October 16, 1969, until this present day, there has been no act of violence on the Wadsworth Yard. That is one of the accomplishments of this project, and citizen participation, and collective decisionmaking model.

ACHIEVEMENT LEVELS

Another is the almost complete elimination of nonready first graders, so that less than 1 percent of the kindergarten students now entering first grade—less than 1 percent are now not ready to read.

Achievement scores for third grade students, that have been just released, indicate a massive improvement in all the quartiles of the medium achievement ranks in almost every area tested, and I have given you a table citing these improvements.

As you move up, it becomes more difficult to move the achievements, because of experiences the students have had in schools preceding the project. But even in sixth grade, there are instances where improvement is showing.

With the male counseling group, which we call the Young Men of Wadsworth, the counselor who is in charge of that group (Mr. Julius

Newborn), for a master's degree thesis did a study with this group of young men. He worked with them and tested them in several study-skill areas, and then compared their achievement with boys in the same age bracket in a neighboring school, in like social and economic circumstances. And he found our young men improved in all except two areas of study skills.

So I am saying that in a school where you have an aggregate model, where everyone participates in the decisionmaking, and everyone has a chance to put in his ideas of what the needs and demands and programs are, that there is a better chance of a development of a positive self concept, a better chance for the development of a sense of power over one's destiny, a better change for a reduction in alienation, and thereby a much better chance for improvement of the achievement.

Senator MONDALE. How do you deal with the findings of the Coleman report, which concluded, as I understand it, that children from "disadvantaged backgrounds"—the poor, often undernourished, from poor housing, with poor health care, without books, et cetera—will do better if they are permitted to attend schools in which the dominant makeup is of children from so-called advantaged social and economic backgrounds.

COLEMAN REPORT

As I understood Dr. Coleman, his point is not a racial one—black kids can only learn when with white kids—but that the same process would work with upper middleclass blacks dominating a school into which poor black children came.

And that from his study, considering all the inputs—teachers, money, classrooms, and so on—that the greatest and most hopeful variable was this kind of social-economic integration in a stable environment. That is his argument.

That study is enormously influential in American education. My impression is that both of you reject it. But I would like to hear you respond.

Dr. SIZEMORE. Well, I have many quarrels with that study. Social science, Senator, in this country has a tendency to support the institution or the value system of male superiority, of white-European superiority, and superiority of people with money.

And it seems to me what Dr. Coleman found out is that money makes a difference, and I certainly agree with that.

There is another study—(Sexton study) on education and income, which validates that premise. There is another study by (Susan Stadolski and Lesser) and another man, which found that as a group—I think they tested three groups—Jewish, black and Puerto Rican and Chinese, I think—and they found that in each group, as the group became more economically stable, in other words, came up, the achievement scores did too.

CRITICISM OF COLEMAN REPORT

No one took this seriously, though, Senator. Because if anyone had taken it seriously, then they would have taken the money and given it to the parents. You know, they would have said, OK, this is the way you raise reading scores, and just raised all of the income levels of all the families to $5,000, and this would raise the achievement scores.

No one took that seriously, and yet everybody is taking Dr. Coleman seriously, and my first question was, why? And so I started looking at Coleman's study, and I used (Levin and Bowles') criticism that was published subsequently.

Many big cities did not cooperate, if you will recall. Chicago was one. And many black people live in big cities. That was first.

Second, there were not many longitudinal studies. First I want a study on a school like Evanston Township High School, which has been integrated for a hundred years, and I want to know what has it done for my people. For instance, in the class in which my daughter was a graduate, how many went to college and how many are still in college and how many did graduate when she did? I think that would tell a real story about the effects of integration on education.

So I am saying that—as you already stated there were—I had many arguments with the study, and the sample and the population that was excluded, as well as that which was included.

Third, that population that was included was predominantly northeastern, and I had some problems with that. The black population which comes to Chicago comes up Highway 51, on the Illinois Central, straight out of the heart of Mississippi. And the problems that they bring to the big city are all of the problems that are in Mississippi, and they are really hardcore problems that demand hard work for resolution. And so I have a lot of problems with that.

Next I had problems with what kinds of black children are in integrated facilities. It may be that the black children who are concentrated in integrated facilities come from a higher socioeconomic range than the black children who are concentrated in the inner cities and who were excluded from the study.

Those are the questions that I asked.

Then I had some other questions. Coleman also said these students in these integrated schools had a stronger sense of power over their destiny, and one of the main questions I addressed to him was that if this is so, then how could the sit-in movement begin in an all-black college in the South, predominantly led by black students who had spent their lives in segregated institutions. The sit-in movement, in my estimation, has been the strongest movement in terms of exhibiting a sense of power over one's destiny. It emerged from the students, was led by the students, and in some instances in complete opposition to the civil rights movement at that time, and its leadership at that moment.

So I have those questions with the Coleman report. I am still studying it. It demands a lot of study to answer your questions with empirical evidence, which I do not have at this time. But those are the questions, and since the question is the foundation of all scientific inquiry, at this moment I can only share with you my questions, but hopefully, at some future date, I will have some empirical evidence to answer your question more explicitly.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Haskins, would you like to respond to that?

Mr. HASKINS. Just briefly, on a very different level. Perhaps on a level that again sort of deals with a kind of historical use that this country has made of findings, that they seem to continually come up with one reason or another to indicate that black children aren't going to learn.

I personally feel that it has been demonstrated, both with the example that Dr. Sizemore gives of education and some of the things that again few people have been able to do when they have some semblance of control. There are certain things that have not been tested out. It really has not been tested out that a black community in control of their own facilities and really able to make their own decisions could not do a much better job than has been done for them by people who feel, if nothing else, that they have to be with white people in order to be educated.

I think there are many things egocentric about this country. There are different countries all over the world that don't have any white Americans there, and they seem to do a fair job of educating their children. China, African countries. And there really are not enough white Americans to go around.

I almost feel as if, barring that kind of conclusion, everybody is lost.

And I question seriously those kinds of findings, because the real opportunity at equality in any sense, in decisionmaking and input, has never been afforded, and any study that is done on integration or desegregation at this point is done upon the basis that I described earlier, that really has not been basically challenged up until now.

ISSUE IS CONTROL

I'd like to say one thing that I think both Dr. Sizemore and I have said, but maybe not strongly enough, and that is that I think basically what we are talking about is not necessarily segregation or separation, although in some instances, because of the history of this country, some things are done easier in one setting than another—but what we are basically talking about is that people have some real control over the destiny of themselves and their children, and that the destiny of one's child not be put in the hands of people who up until now have demonstrated that they are not interested in the destiny of the child, because they certainly will end up abusing or miseducating the child. So there will be situations where people find themselves in any kind of setting, either integrated or desegregated or not, but in each instance I think those people who are most concerned about the children have to be the ones that have a great deal to say about what happens to the lives of their children.

Senator MONDALE. Would you say that the so-called civil rights integration movement, as it has affected education since 1954, has been a wasted effort?

Mr. HASKINS. That is a hard thing to answer.

Senator MONDALE. Would you abandon the effort?

DEFINITION OF INTEGRATION

Mr. HASKINS. No. Dr. Sizemore and I were talking last night about how really a life of a person is a very, very short thing, and we don't know what kind of things really have impact.

I myself cannot abandon the idea that hopefully one day we will get rid of all these traits of arrogance, or whatever it is that keeps us as a group of people from just operating together as people, and let people be as they would.

I guess the thing I address myself to and constantly look for is equality, and when people pushed for integration, they were looking for equality and an open society, and people began to use different definitions for it.

I think that I would still hold the same definition, and when people say an open society or equality and begin to think of the means by which they can approach this, the question is now, at this point in time, in this place, in this country, are the options just one, or are the options several? And are we on the right timetable?

And the other thing is, are we allowing people to use what we are saying for something else? Because certainly the thing Dr. Sizemore talked about, about the letting go of the black principals and black teachers in the South, because of the statement that people would make, for instance, that as long as there is a white kid there, no black person is going to teach him—if this is what people mean by integration——

Or in the Greenburgh district that I worked in, the real struggle we had was to finally get them to begin to put black administrators in. There was the statement that they couldn't find black administrators, or no one was qualified. And actually, the place from which they drew their administrators, these were people who had been superintendent of schools in a district where there was one school for 25 kids, way up in the woods of New York someplace, where a black person could never get a job; and a person who had been a principal or assistant principal in a school in New York City, had handled many more children in a much more complicated situation than this person who came from upstate New York, but people held onto the credential, to the things that were there, so that even in that setting, the question of decisionmaking, the question of where are you ready to make a move and where aren't you—these persist.

The problems in New York, even as I say in places where it's predominantly black, the question of integration really goes beyond the children, it has to really talk about the teachers, about the administrators, the board members, has to talk about who decides where the money goes, has to talk about the custodian jobs that are paying $45,000 a year in certain spots, and in some cities it's the only place where you don't find black janitors, because they pay too much money.

All of these things are things we have to talk about, and if you talk just on the level of what classrooms are the children going to, we are really not talking about anything.

HAZARDS OF INTEGRATION EFFORTS

Senator Mondale. Let me sharpen the question more. There are a number of school superintendents like Dr. Coffin from Evanston who belong to a growing fraternity of fired school superintendents, who have tried to make school integration work in the broader definition of equality and sensitivity to which Mr. Haskins has made reference.

And there are school board members who have lost their jobs, many of them now, in the same effort. It's getting to be a large fraternity. It could make up quite a convention of people who tried.

And there are some politicians who are still trying, who mouth the word busing, try to pass a thing called the Quality Integrated Education Act, things like that, obviously exposing themselves to very serious critical repercussions.

Would you recommend to these people to drop those efforts now, and concentrate on community control, or what are you recommending?

Mr. **Haskins.** When you define the terms, from my point of view, correctly, they are not either/or concepts. When you really talk about equality, open society, sensitivity, they are not opposites. And again, we have to be careful that we don't allow other people to define for us the things that we mean.

There are people who tell me that community control is nothing but old fashioned segregation. It is not old fashioned segregation. Community control, people try to define, as Dr. Sizemore said, as either local control or decentralization. And it is none of that.

It is only trying to somehow speak to the fact that there are certain basic things wrong with this country, and a lot of people have to try. Obviously if people are losing their jobs, the problem is that there aren't enough people trying, because if there were enough——

CONSTITUENCY FOR INTEGRATION

Senator **Mondale.** But isn't it a practical fact that if black educators take the position that what really is most important today is community control over their own institutions, and if that is what they want—I agree with you, if that is what they want—that in fact the constituency for integration efforts is gone?

Mr. **Haskins.** I don't understand.

Senator **Mondale.** Well, if the black community doesn't want integration, then shouldn't we spend our time on trying to make community control work, and worry about integration sometime down the road? Wouldn't that be the preferable emphasis of our effort?

Mr. **Haskins.** I'll let Dr. Sizemore answer that. Somehow, I guess I'm not saying what I want to say.

Dr. **Sizemore.** The black community mainly wants to participate in all of the institutions, and that includes decisionmaking institutions of this society, Senator. That is really the goal.

And you can look at it something like this. How do you get from a position of oppression to a position of liberation without getting exterminated. That is the problem that my people have. Okay?

We thought integration was the answer, because it was visualized as open society, total free access to every opportunity in the sense of equality, liberty, and fraternity. That is the way it was envisioned.

That turned out to be desegregation, to be manipulated for the best interests of a group, so that black people said, wait a minute, that's not going to get us there, that's going to get us killed, so let's look at this.

OPEN SOCIETY

But remember now that the goal is an open society. That is the goal. So whatever short term propositions that are made must be propositions which work toward that long term goal, because if the short-term propositions work in opposition to the long term goal, they can be very destructive.

So to say that black people are going to give up this struggle for the open society, I think is a mistake, and I tried to say that in the end of my paper when I said that we have to continue to struggle for a culturally pluralistic and American society. I want to abandon integration—the term—because I think it's been prostituted and now does not have the meaning that it originally had—the democratic, equal, liberty, fraternity, red, white, and blue meaning any more.

And what I am saying now is that if America is a combination of equal cultural groups, then every institution has an obligation to treat them with parity.

Previously, groups constructed their own institutions to get from a position of exclusion to a position of inclusion. The Irish Catholics used the Catholic Church. The Jews used the synagogue. Both of these people as a group occupied excluded positions at one time, and used these institutions and a multitude of associations and organizations, based on might is right, and right is always which group grew out of a separatist base.

The Irish Catholics were violent, and the Jews were nonviolent, but they still started at separatism. They had a pseudospecies declaration, an identity specification and a territorial imperative and they used religion, the most powerful organization dynamic man knows to create—a separatist base out of which nationalism grew. And this nationalism was so powerful, Senator, that the Jewish people walked around for 2,000 years with just this concept of land in their minds, until it exploded into reality in the State of Israel in 1948.

Religion and nationalism are the most powerful organizing dynamics that mankind knows, and every excluded group has utilized these weapons in a struggle from poverty to a position of inclusion in that society.

But the goal was always the open society. In other words, to exist in a pluralistic frame of reference with all the other groups, in a position of parity.

Now I do believe that most black people want this, so this means that every one then is struggling for the same thing, liberty, equality, fraternity, for their group.

And if your group is excluded, then you just start further down the line, you see. So it appears to the people already existing in a parity position that you are withdrawing, but what you are really trying to do is to consolidate your people power, so that you can push yourselves through to that position, because they are not going to let you in unless you have some power to make the thrust.

ECONOMIC BASE

What the previously excluded group did was first have a separatist base, then consolidated through these dynamics into nationalism, and then build an economic base on work where they had complete control. Like you have heard of the Polish American Plumbing Unions. And take the city of Chicago. We joke about it and call it the Irish Catholic fief of King Richard of Bridgeport. That's a joke.

But you create the economic work base, and out of this you can form coalitions and voting blocks and when the black community consolidates all this power, it can say, we are going to integrate with you and get across the table and be partners.

But until a group can do this, it operates from a periphery of exclusion. It cannot operate from a position of parity in a decisionmaking sense.

Senator Mondale. The Legal Defense Fund of the NAACP is conducting lawsuit around the country, principally in the South, but it plans to move elsewhere, to require school districts to desegregate, or integrate, including busing and programs of transferring students. It recently won a landmark case, the *Charlotte-Mecklenburg* case, which involves a massive program of desegregation in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg area in North Carolina.

Do you agree that that is a proper strategy, or would you prefer to abandon that effort and concentrate on the community control stategy?

Dr. Sizemore. I think, at this point, in the black community the priority would be the consolidation of the people power.

There are two kinds of power, Senator. Land from which all capital comes, and people.

Senator Mondale. I understand that. But in other words, you think the Legal Defense Fund is moving in the wrong direction?

Dr. Sizemore. It depends on the community. If the community is only 10-percent black, then you have to have a different kind of approach. But the black community lives everywhere, and you cannot say that a strategy that is right for the consolidation of people power in a community where there are a million black people, will be the same in a small community or rural area where there is a small black population.

Senator Mondale. *Charlotte-Mecklenberg* had something like 28-percent black.

Dr. Sizemore. Then it would be comparable to Evanston, Ill., probably, and I would say yes, that they would be making the right move for that population, provided—provided—that the black community had the opportunity to participate in that decision.

DECISIONS MADE WITHOUT PARTICIPATION

But if decisions are made for a community without its participation, and their specific needs and demands are not stated, in whatever process is executed, it will be the wrong thing for this community.

And I am not in any position to say here whether that is good for the black community of Charlotte-Mecklenberg. I don't know.

What I am interested in devising is a decisionmaking apparatus that will give the black community the same access to the decisionmaking power in desegregation models that the white community has, and if the NAACP is acting in the interest of that black community, and that community has so directed it to do, then I would be in accord with that decision.

If, however, it obstructed that long term goal, then I would not be in favor of it.

Senator Mondale. Mr. Haskins, would you recommend that the NAACP continue its present course, or would you recommend a different course?

Mr. Haskins. I go back to what I said before, and that is, I think that the problems that we have to attend to are much greater than the mixing of children. I think that when a board of education remains white and when all the plans around how this is to be done are done on a basis of that, so that you have in city after city the complete burden of the solving of the desegregation problem on the shoulders of the black children being sent into communities that are hostile, when you have principals and teachers losing their jobs, if that is the result of the integration, I am against it.

Senator Mondale. Well, are you saying then——

Mr. Haskins. And I am sure NAACP is against it, if that is the result, also.

TWO SEPARATE STRATEGIES

Senator Mondale. Certainly. Would you say then that what you are really talking about are two separate strategies? One is community control, which you have described, and which you experienced on a limited basis; and the other alternative is integration in the real sense, where you have not only control but equality?

Mr. Haskins. But there are some communities—I don't know exactly where, but I am sure there are places in Nebraska and Iowa and other places—where the black community is not lost, where the black communities are relatively small.

The thing I am talking about is something that would serve black people wherever they are, and put them in the position in which the respect for them and their children as people allows them to have input into whatever decisions are made.

WHITE CONTROL

Now I think that when you have a community that, for whatever reason at this point, is all black, like Washington, D.C.—parts of it—for it to be completely controlled by all white people, which finally ends up being the case, something is wrong in that kind of relationship.

When you have a community like Ocean-Hill Brownsville, where they push for more and more control of their schools, and find that the teachers who teach in that community do not live in that community, but leave at the end of the day and really, basically see their allegiance to another community, then something is wrong someplace.

Now, I think, what we have to continue to look at is where we are, and how did we get to where we are, and what are the things we finally want, and I think also recognize that there is really no one solution.

I just know—and I know it—that a school that is totally populated by black children does not stop those children from learning if the people who come in there work with them as if they can learn.

I also know that if I put black children in a desegregated setting where people have a need to continually prove that these children are inferior, they will mess those children up in that setting also.

So I think the things we are really talking about have to do with, again, the place that people find themselves in, in the society, how are they going to handle it, how do we really begin to make certain that people are seen as people with equality, and not that some people are to decide and other people are to abide by those decisions.

I use terms like colonial relationship and so forth. These are not farfetched things. These are basically the place where people find themselves. I can tell you that, to use a personal example, I was forced—not forced, because you can't force people—but the music that I was supposed to appreciate was "Country Gardens" by Granger.

When actually, I fully appreciated music. I love music. As a matter of fact, I had dreamed of being a saxophone player like Lester Young. That was my music. But I happened to go to a school where a group of people decided that that wasn't music to be appreciated. The music to be appreciated was that which they appreciated, not what I appreciated.

As a result, I can't play a saxophone, and I still don't like "Country Gardens" by Granger.

And that's an example we can laugh at, but there are many examples of a kind of arrogance of what is right and what is wrong that are forced upon people, and I think what we are talking about, whether it is community control or really integration, is that those practices stop as soon as possible.

RESISTANCE TO INTEGRATION AND COMMUNITY CONTROL

Senator MONDALE. The reason I am pressing you on policy is that—isn't it quite obvious that both movements are in serious trouble? Both integration and community control?

Mr. HASKINS. Education in general.

Senator MONDALE. And education to boot. That is, integration in the finest definition of the word—and we have had two or three very fine definitions here this morning—and community control, are being met with enormous resistance. Each of you had experience with—whatever you call it, community control or decentralization—in which the real operations were left in someone else's hands. And as you said, Mr. Haskins, it was really Antioch that ran your school; and in your case, Dr. Sizemore, you found middle-level bureaucrats running your school.

In New York City, where there were three experimental districts which were rather impressive examples of community control, the legislature came along and rolled that back until now I suspect they have something like you have in Chicago, where there is apparent control, but in fact it is run by others. And I think this has been happening throughout the country. So if either course or both courses are to be pursued, it is going to take a very strong, conscious, national policy commitment with a lot of steam to achieve it. Am I not correct?

Mr. HASKINS. But that would be in any city in this country, no matter what tactic you use, you are going to have a problem when you address equality.

Senator MONDALE. That's true. Now that being true, and since this committee is limited to the educational issue, what are the key elements of a national policy you would recommend that we pursue here in the Congress?

I think I understand what you have been saying that bears on this, but I would like you to repeat it if you would in response to that question.

BROADENING BASE OF DECISIONMAKING

Dr. SIZEMORE. I think the administration of the school has to be viewed in terms of its hierarchial structure. In all its Max Weber splendor—line staff, general superintendent tells the area superintendent, who tells the district superintendent, who tells the principal, tells the teacher, who tells the students, and parents are excluded. That is line staff.

This hierarchial, traditional, authoritarian organization students are protesting. Parents are protesting it. Teachers are protesting it. Community organizations are protesting it.

It seems to me that since this country wants very badly to be a democracy and save it for the world, we ought to start practicing it. And let's flatten that pyramid out so that everyone has an opportunity to sit in at the decisionmaking table. The community, administrators, parents, teachers, and students.

So that all the roles can participate in making a decision about what goes on in that institution, so it can profit from this input. This will also help teachers execute their tasks in the teaching-learning process. That is my first recommendation.

TEACHER TRAINING

My second recommendation is that policy in teacher training change so that teachers learn how to diagnose as well as to prescribe. Presently, teachers give out prescriptions. The school opens on September 1; the teacher comes into the classroom with 40 beautiful new children and starts giving out prescriptions.

If we would go to a doctor like that, we would really die a lot earlier. Imagine going to a doctor and saying, I have a headache, and I am sick. I have been up all night and I have these problems, and he sits there and gives you a prescription, and says, get these pills, they will fix you up, without even looking at you, or asking you questions, without taking your pulse or temperature. We wouldn't tolerate it.

Senator MONDALE. I am on the Health Subcommittee, too, and that is what is going on.

Dr. SIZEMORE. Well, the practice does not help health any more than it helps education, and I think that teachers need to learn how to diagnose problems, learning problems, teaching problems, by learning some techniques the social sciences do have to offer, like participant observation and interviewing. That is my second recommendation.

My third recommendation is the idea that education takes place just in rooms with a teacher, and a number of children, this should be abandoned as the only way that education can take place. And that a strong consideration be given to the utilization of public institutions—like the Senate, maybe—for learning, real learning, situations.

Also that public policy at the Federal level should really look at the world of work for young people. Young people are being abandoned in this country by employment, and the unemployment rate among black youth in the black community is as high as 40 percent, and even higher among black females.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

That the whole arena of work for young people be analyzed and more opportunities be given to them so that when a poor youngster graduates from a high school, it really means something, and you don't have any more students graduating from vocational high schools with straight A in plumbing, who can't get into the plumbing unions.

This is a tragedy. And I think that every vocational high school should have an employment office or placement service in it so that when the students graduate with certain skills, that the school is responsible for placing them in the world of work.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Haskins, would you try the Haskins plan for America?

Mr. HASKINS. I think that virtually all of the plans have been stated—I just think that whenever we really get down to the business of trying to live up to the things that have been said, beautifully so many times, that that is the important thing.

I think I mentioned to you my concern about desegregation. But I could say that separate but equal was never equal. And somehow, the legislation, the various legislatures never seemed able to enforce that.

I contend that integration that is going on now is not really integration, but I don't know whether legislatures will be able to enforce that.

I think for myself, and I hope for as many other people as possible, I will continue to look at the differences between the words and the act, and not use the words to behave as if the act has been completed, and keep on fighting in whichever way I think is correct.

And we must examine the actions that we take to see whether or not they really lead to what we want them to lead to. I doubt seriously that I could in any way outline any one strategy.

And I hate to leave it that vague, but I guess that is the only thing I can do.

ROLE OF WHITES

Senator MONDALE. What role would you recommend for white people in the struggle? What should they be doing?

Dr. SIZEMORE. One of the big problems as I see it is the education of white people, and I really had some strong feelings about teacher training institutions for white teachers in white communities and I feel that these teacher training institutions must equip those students with the true history of the country, and not the prostituted version, that they are going to have to deal with certain statements that have been accepted as fact.

Let's take a very common one—Christopher Columbus discovered America. This just couldn't have happened, because the Indians were already here, and unless you want to say that the Indians were not people, then you have to say they must have discovered America, since they were here.

Now some kinds of methods and approaches and content must be designed to help young white teachers deal with these lies in history, first.

Also, to deal with the fact that white European superiority is accepted as a value and that is promulgated in the schools, it is taught

You don't teach it in the Dick and Jane reader, but it is taught in the Dick and Jane reader, and that white teachers are going to have to deal with white people on this issue.

Senator, young brilliant white students come into the black community to teach because they are scared to deal with their own people and it's easier to deal with black people, so they come in as missionaries to save us, because they will get killed if they attempt to save their own.

I don't know whether or not you know what happens to people like Dr. Coffin when the white community withdraws its support, but there is a fear there for the lives of your family, because you live in the midst of this community and bombs can be thrown at your house and your children can be hurt.

And so the white teachers have to deal with this phenomenon in the white community. I think that is the most difficult thing for a white teacher to do, and I think that it's crucial.

Senator **Mondale.** Thank you very much. I appreciate your most useful statement and your very candid answers.

The committee is in recess, to reconvene at 10 a.m., on Thursday in room G308, of the New Senate Office Building.

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, the Select Committee was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., on July 29, 1971, in room G308 of the New Senate Office Building.

URBAN EDUCATION

THURSDAY, JULY 29, 1971

U.S. Senate
Select Committee on
Equal Educational Opportunity,
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met at 10:24 a.m., pursuant to call, in room G308, of the New Senate Office Building, the Honorable Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senator Mondale.

Staff members present: William C. Smith, staff director and general counsel; and Donald S. Harris, professional staff.

Senator Mondale. Would Mr. Brown and the other members of the panel please come to the witness table?

This morning we continue our hearings on the community school movement, and we will hear a panel of witnesses from the Morgan Community School in Washington, D.C., including Mr. Robert Brown, chairman of the board. Mr. Brown, will you introduce the other members of the panel?

Mr. Brown. Right. The other members of the panel are Mrs. Jean Holiday, who is a parent, and president of the Parent Advisory Committee; Mr. John Anthony, principal of the school: Mrs. Arlene Young, assistant principal and teacher at the school; and Mrs. Louise Baxter, who is a member of PAC and a parent.

STATEMENT OF MR. ROBERT BROWN, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD, MORGAN COMMUNITY SCHOOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Brown. The purposeful and dismal failure of the educational system throughout our country to adequately educate black people calls for and demands relevant and constructive change for the black community. For generations, the black community has prescribed and subscribed to the notion that educational inequities in our country would soon be eliminated. The end result is that our people have been living in a world of unknown mythology which is far beyond the tentacles of superstition.

The framework for public education in America from its beginning divided its people by setting up a so-called "Separate but Equal System of Education" which was doomed to failure. Perhaps if we could relive and truly dedicate ourselves to the democratic principles of oneness and togetherness, the problems which confront us now could justly be avoided.

Unfortunately, we cannot relive the past, and if we could, the degree of racism would make it mose difficult to truly accomplish what our country should really be about.

A school system which handicaps some of its people—blacks in particular—for life, is not worthy of public support. Education of black people has been, to a great extent, meaningless imitation. Blacks are acutely aware of what others have done through positive inspiration; they also know that these inspirations and opportunities have not been equated for them.

Our interpretation of community control is, ideally, that it is a community controlled school which would be operated by the community with the larger system providing the moneys and other supportive services as requested by the school.

COMMUNAL REPRESENTATIVE SCHOOL BOARD

The community controlled school must be governed by an elected board of local community people. The board must be responsible for staff, curriclum, and school utilization. The size and makeup of the board must be decided upon by the community, but it must be as representative of the area the school serves as possible.

The school must be responsible and responsive to the needs and desires of the community in the educational program carried out and in other services and facilities offered. It must take both its form and substance from the needs of children attending it and others using it.

The community controlled school should be a center in the community. It should provide educational, enrichment, remedial recreational programs for everyone in the community. It should be the gathering place for people to meet and discuss things important to them. It should provide space for other community services and be a place through which assistance, advice, and referrals to other services can be given.

INTERACTION OF SCHOOL BOARD AND COMMUNITY

The community controlled school should affect the community and the community in turn should affect the school. The school should be in a sense a small community within itself.

What black people want is to control their own institutions, rather than having institutions—controlled by others—control them.

We want to devise a curriculum which is relevant and meaningful to us as a people; we want our children to be able to identify themselves in our society and in our own way in order for blacks to possess pride and dignity.

We want to teach our children love for and respect for their fellow man, be he white, red, yellow, or black. Since this has not been accomplished by the educational system, we can no longer afford the luxury of sitting idly by while our children stagnate in the midst of bureaucratic irresponsiveness. We want education to produce individuals capable of making their own decisions and thinking for themselves, not robots who conform to whatever is the norm at that time.

If blacks are to become a part of the mainstream in our country, we must be active participants in the decisionmaking process, for without that right, we will continue to be parasitic in all of our endeavors.

Therefore, one solution to the problems confronting black people throughout this country is effective community control of the one institution which greatly affects the lives and future of our children—education.

SUCCESS OF COMMUNITY CONTROL

After having just completed our fourth year of community control, we are delighted to emphatically state that we have seen much progress in many facets of our educational program.

Parents and community members and other interested persons are free to come into the school and visit classes, volunteer their services and/or state their grievances without having to make appointments.

They are treated with respect and allowed to carry themselves with dignity. The school now welcomes them and their children as they are, always respecting their values, rather than imposing ours upon them.

The atmosphere is such that our children have developed a keen interest in and love for the school. With the dedication and commitment of the school personnel, the children know that they are loved and wanted. In fact, one comment regularly made by our numerous visitors—for example, Mrs. Martha Mitchell, wife of the Attorney General——

Senator MONDALE. Did she visit or call?

Mr. BROWN. She visited—is that they have never seen children so happy to be in school.

Consequently, this positive image has helped to create within our children a spirit of brotherhood which is certainly needed in these ill days of divisiveness and insecurity.

In spite of the many obstacles placed in our path—for example, recent inaccurate news accounts written by racists whose sole purpose is to discredit black people by making malicious and nonsupportable accusations—the tireless efforts of the people involved in our program have attested to the worth, the relevance, and the need for community control. Although some would like to kill our spirit, this type of debasement serves to encourage us to strive even harder to prove that black people can control their own destinies.

The seed of community control is one which we know will grow like the vines of the sweet smelling honeysuckle.

In conclusion, community control is the most viable, innovative, exciting and lasting solution to the black's most pressing problem—the education of his greatest assets—his children.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Mr. Brown. In what order would you wish the others to make their statements or observations?

Let's start with the principal, Mr. Anthony. He might comment and then we'll proceed in whatever order you wish.

STATEMENT OF JOHN ANTHONY, PRINCIPAL, MORGAN COMMUNITY SCHOOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. ANTHONY. Basically, I think that this whole concept of community control is certainly a very positive one. I think it's a solution to many of the problems confronting black communities throughout the country.

NEGATIVE BASIS OF INTEGRATION

I feel that this whole thing about integration, the blacks rationale for integration, dealth primarily with the understanding that, because of the inefficiencies, because of the school systems that did not give them the kind of equal opportunities, which had different curricula for black schools than for white schools, I think initially that blacks said, by having their children to go to a white school, that this really helped them. I think that was their rationale.

I think that what has happened is that, because of the many crises in schools where we have many blacks and whites going to school together, have really come about because what the blacks had thought, did not exist there, and I think what blacks really want today is quality education for their children, be it in a white neighborhood or in the black neighborhood.

I think what they are saying is, we want quality education for our children.

Not only that, I think the parents in particular are immensely concerned with people respecting them, and especially the school personnel respecting them as parents. After all, the children belong to them.

We have found at Morgan that the parents are welcome, they come into the school any time they get ready, they don't have to come to the office. We don't even encourage them to come to the office. They go directly to the classrooms. They come in and help with the lunch program. They come in and hold classes when teachers have to go to workshops.

And as a result of that, we have found that it has made a tremendous impact on, I guess, a rekindling of some kind of faith in the educational system.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Anthony, how long have you been associated with Morgan?

Mr. ANTHONY. Three years.

Senator MONDALE. Three years. And where did you teach before?

Mr. ANTHONY. I taught school in Florida, and also I taught school in Germany.

Senator MONDALE. In Florida, were you teaching in segregated schools?

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes; in segregated schools, and then I did some teaching in an integrated school.

Senator MONDALE. Where did you take your academic training?

Mr. ANTHONY. I have a bachelor's degree from Paine College, in Augusta, Ga., and a masters from Columbia University, and further studies at Harvard.

Senator Mondale. Have you taught in a so-called desegregated or integrated school, or has your experience been principally in an all-black or all-white school system?

Mr. Anthony. Well, let me raise this question. When you say a desegregated school, what are you saying?

Senator Mondale. I think you said earlier that in Florida you had taught in an all-black school. And Morgan is what? I think you said 90 percent; is that correct?

Mr. Anthony. Right.

Senator Mondale. Now you also taught, you said, in Germany. Was that an armed services school?

Mr. Anthony. Right.

Senator Mondale. Now if I might ask just a few questions. How many children are at the Morgan school?

Mr. Anthony. 676 students.

Senator Mondale. 676. And you say 90 percent are black?

Mr. Anthony. Right.

Senator Mondale. And are the others white?

Mr. Anthony. White, and we have—Arlene?

Mrs. Young. About 4 or 5 percent would be Spanish students also.

PER PUPIL EXPENDITURES

Senator Mondale. Do you know approximately what the per capita or per pupil expenditure is at Morgan? What are your resources, in that sense?

Mr. Anthony. Yes, it is about, for this year, approximately $461. I am told that supposedly we will have approximately $671 for next year.

Senator Mondale. So it would be up $200 per pupil?

Mr. Anthony. Right. Let me explain that.

Recently, with Judge Wright's decision, in terms of more equities across the board, we find that the teachers at Morgan are very, very young teachers, so consequently, in terms of their pay, they are at the bottom of the scale.

From what I understand, we will be getting, in order to remain within this 5-percent deviation, more experienced people.

I am hoping we will be able to maintain the teachers we have at the school, because they are doing some innovative things, and they have some very, very good ideas about education.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

Senator Mondale. Now you indicated that there is an openness and a friendliness to the school which you think is very helpful. Would you go into that a little bit more, how that works out for the children in your opinion, and how the parents are involved. Give me some examples of what you think you have in this school that you might not have in other schools that are not community controlled.

Mr. Anthony. I think one of the things is my meeting parents and moving around in the community, rather than remaining as the principal of the school, in that chair in the office, going out into the community and talking with parents and visiting the homes. I have tried to encourage them, along with the members of the board and members of PAC, to come into the school, and consequently, they have.

The other thing is that many of the parents began to talk about this whole concept of involvement. Many of the parents who are not able to come into the school will be doing some other things.

For example, if we have a bake sale, that parent will do everything she possibly can to see that a cake or something comes to the school.

And the other thing that we have really tried to do at Morgan is to have something like a family. For instance, we have had things like banquets in the school. Parents and teachers come and I guess the parents get to know the teachers as human beings.

Senator MONDALE. Is that unique for the schools you have been in? Is this the first time you have seen parents involved in this way?

Mr. ANTHONY. This is the first time, and I have been in education for at least 10 years. This is the first time that I have seen this kind of atmosphere.

BASIC SKILL ACHIEVEMENT

Senator MONDALE. What about the children learning basic skills? Mr. Brown referred to the article in the Washington Post, which wasn't very flattering. I think that one of its criticisms was that children weren't achieving at grade level in terms of basic skills.

Would you comment on that?

Mr. ANTHONY. Yes. As I said before, Senator, this September—and if you look at the whole history of Morgan School since its inception, you will find that the kids have fared better.

Now what really happened, last September, when they gave the test, everything was in a kind of uproar about the test, and as a result of that, I don't think the students fared well at that particular time.

However, I think if you would examine the tests at the end of this year, that you will find a very valid picture of their achievement. And I might say that our doors are open for someone to do that.

Mr. BROWN. I would like to respond to that question. Perhaps in a more general manner.

As far as the lack of achievement is concerned, of not only black students at Morgan, but black students in general, throughout the country, I think the problem goes deeper than what exists at Morgan, and the problem probably extends historically from slavery, which was the noneducation of the blacks and continued miseducation of black people.

Because—and again I say, because—they did not have control of what they were learning or what they were taught, until recently, black people did not even know their own history or their own heritage.

INCENTIVES

The problem is further compounded by the fact that blacks, in terms of financial or social rewards in this country, do not have any incentives to learn.

In an article in the Post this week, it shows that blacks with certain educational achievements such as a college level degree, still earn considerably less than whites with a high school degree, and blacks with a high school degree earn considerably less than whites with an eighth-grade education.

One would not mind learning, if he thinks it will give him something, if his learning was rewarded.

The system is based upon education for the purpose of monetary reward and blacks have not had that. They have not had examples set forth. For instance, take your corporations. Many of your corporations tell you that blacks in managerial positions are far below whites, I think it's 1 percent. When you are talking about education, you have to hold something before a kid and say, "Look what you can achieve with your education. Look what you can get with your education."

But you know that hasn't been true, so the incentive to learn hasn't been there, based upon the type of education, at least, the purpose of what education is supposed to be about in this country.

However, what we as a black people are trying to do now is show our kids that you do not learn necessarily to make or to expect to obtain monetary gains in this country, or even social status in this country.

You should learn in this country in order to be able to gain an expertise that will better help you control the institutions which exist in your community, and build institutions in your community which are relevant to that community.

We have found out that even with our education and even with our degrees, that we can't really function the way we are supposed to in the system. I think in the past the old saying was, you had to be better than the average white man in order to be able to have equal opportunities with him. For instance, one experience that I have had—because I went to all black schools in the South——

Senator **Mondale**. Where did you go to high school?

Mr. **Brown**. New Orleans, La. One of the experiences that I have had is, when I finally went to a predominantly white university in New Orleans, I did have feelings of inferiority, not because I thought I was inately inferior to those people, but because I was told throughout my entire life that whites are getting a better education than what I was receiving, and therefore, when I walked into the classroom, I felt inferior, until I found out that my fellow classmates were in fact not that much more advanced than I found myself to be.

Senator **Mondale**. I accept what you say, but I think black Americans have been cheated in many ways. The evidence, some of which you cited, is unarguable.

But one of the cruelest things we have done, for generations, to blacks and other minorities is to fail to equip them with the basic skills that they need to fight back, and to get their own place, whatever it is.

ENTIRE SCHOOLS BELOW GRADE LEVELS

In many of these central city school systems now, it is not unusual to have entire schools where children are far below grade level in reading, counting, arithmetic, and so on. One wonders what chance they have got in terms of economic competition, if nothing else, to make it in American society.

I had understood that one of the arguments of the Morgan School all along has been that the children were doing better in basic skills, as well as the other things to which you make reference. It that what you were saying?

Mr. ANTHONY. That is what I was saying. I think in terms of the article referred to by Mr. Brown, when he said something about the recent account—not only the local news account, but even in other places, for instance, New York, where new articles have been critical of community control—I think the whole issue is, unfortunately you have people who come in and rather than say, how can we be very helpful, they began to come in and tear down constructive things with distorted facts.

I am saying now, the doors are open, and what people really need to do is come out and really see what the kids are doing. I think this is the only test. I think the answer to an untruth, to a lie, is to find out what the truth is.

Senator MONDALE. Right. Now let's see. The chairman of the school board is Mr. Brown. Let's start with the assistant principal, Mrs. Young. Would you care to give us your views?

STATEMENT OF MRS. ARLENE YOUNG, ASSISTANT PRINCIPAL AND TEACHER, MORGAN COMMUNITY SCHOOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. YOUNG. I really didn't come prepared to give any statement. I would like to say that I have been working at Morgan School for the last 12 years, and since we have had community school, such as it is, I found that I enjoy my work much more than I did before.

As a matter of fact, I had thought at one time of just forgetting about teaching, but now I see that there is a way that we can help our children to learn.

We do agree wholeheartedly that our children need the basic skills—reading, writing, and arithmetic. They must have this in order to survive. But what we are doing is trying to find new ways to achieve this.

The old methods haven't worked. We are trying to experiment, to explore. We want the children to learn to think for themselves, to be able to help themselves, and gain what they must have in order to survive.

MORGAN SCHOOL BEFORE COMMUNITY CONTROL

Senator MONDALE. You say you have been at Morgan for 12 years?

Mrs. YOUNG. Right.

Senator MONDALE. So you worked in the system when it was strictly run from the top, and I gather you worked there when Mr. Haskins was there, and you have been there through the whole 12-year period?

Mrs. YOUNG. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. When you first went there, was it a predominantly white school?

Mrs. YOUNG. No. Oh no: it was—I imagine the ratio was about the same as now. It may have had a few more whites at that time.

Senator MONDALE. Apparently it was the deep concern in the community about how the children were failing, and what was happening to the children at the school, that led to this demand for community control, is that correct?

Mrs. YOUNG. This is true.

Senator MONDALE. What kinds of complaints were they making in particular that you thought were accurate?

Mrs. YOUNG. The school was very overcrowded. Most of the classrooms at that time had from 32 to 38 children per teacher. There were no aides, no help for teachers at all.

When I first started, there was no such thing as free lunch program, which we now have, and the children had to go home for lunch or they didn't get lunch. The lunch program did start a few years later, but at the time they were cold bag lunches brought from away across town somewhere.

Another complaint was that the parents felt that the teachers weren't really interested in their children. They were with the children from nine to three, and when the children left, the teachers left also. There wasn't that much preparing for the individual child.

Senator MONDALE. Did you think there was some justification in that complaint?

Mrs. YOUNG. In certain cases. There were a few—I imagine there still are teachers who leave when the bell rings, you know.

There was quite a bit of open corporal punishment at the time. Of course, this was before the law was passed, so I don't know if that can be justified or not. We now forbid any type of corporal punishment in our school.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Anthony pointed out that one of the things that seems to be hopeful is that the community is involved in this effort, they come in and help, and they have other ways of participating in the community school. Was that true in the precommunity school days?

Mrs. YOUNG. We had the PTA, as most schools have, and when you saw the parents, usually it was at a PTA meeting. There may have been a few parents who came up to see about their children's work, et cetera, but most of the time, we very seldom saw any parents in the school during the regular school day. Now we have parents working in the school as community interns, and we also have parents who come into the school to volunteer their services during school hours and after school hours.

Senator MONDALE. Is that helpful, in your opinion?

Mrs. YOUNG. I feel as though it's very helpful. There are children who still might find it hard to relate to teachers. Teachers are put up on a pedestal. Children can't talk to them, et cetera. People who live in the community can help out in this way, talk with the children, it seems, in a better way than some professionals can. Although this shouldn't be the case, but it is true.

TEACHER ATTITUDES

Senator MONDALE. I want to get into the question of how much community control in a moment. But at least you have an elected local school board.

Do you think the teacher attitude has changed now that their is community control?

Are the teachers more likely to respond sensitively with respect to the children and their needs now than was true before?

Mrs. Young. I feel that this is true, because, for instance, our teachers must apply at Morgan School in order to work there. When they come, they know that they have to be interviewed by our local board and our personnel committee.

Senator Mondale. Does the school board interview the teachers?

Mrs. Young. We have a Morgan Community School Board Personnel Committee.

Senator Mondale. So the elected members of the school board review the teachers before they are hired?

Mrs. Young. Before they are hired. The teachers must meet the certification of the downtown system.

Senator Mondale. Does that committee include parents?

Mrs. Young. Yes; there are parents, community members, and one member of the administration.

Senator Mondale. Have you ever rejected an applicant?

Mrs. Young. There have been rejections. As a matter of fact, when the local turnover was made from Morgan School to Morgan Community School, those of us teaching at Morgan at the time were asked to apply if we wanted to remain at the school, and we were interviewed by this board. There were, I think, 10 of us who applied, and only three of us were accepted.

WHITES ON FACULTY

Senator Mondale. What is the percentage of white to black faculty at Morgan Community School, if you know?

Mr. Anthony. Twenty-five percent.

Senator Mondale. Twenty-five percent white?

Mr. Anthony. Right.

Senator Mondale. What was it before it became a community school?

Mrs. Young. The year preceding community control, we didn't have any white teachers at Morgan.

Senator Mondale. So actually there are more white teachers now after community control. That's very interesting.

Mr. Anthony. What we tried to do at Morgan, that is, we go back to this thing in the presentation here, where it talks about oneness and togetherness.

Not only have we tried to place whites in the school, but the school is set up, based on teams, and it is ungraded, and what we try to do is place a white on each team.

The kids have to learn how to get along with people, all people; not only have we done that, we have had other people, for instance, at the present time some of the whites we have—we have a lot of nuns, who are now on the Morgan staff. Some reformed nuns on the staff of Morgan.

And in addition to that, we have some one or two teachers from Liberia and we have someone else from Nigeria. We are trying to give them an outlook in terms of different kinds of people, because after all, when they leave school, they will be confronted with different kinds of people, and it's very important that they get to know them at an early stage.

We have found this to be very successful. I think for the first time this year, we have tried to have a proportional amount of white teachers on the staff. I think before, for the last 3 or 4 years, we had maybe about 10 to 15 percent, something like that.

CURRICULUM CHANGES

Senator **Mondale**. Mr. Brown referred earlier to the fact that black people have not been permitted to learn about their own history, their own background and culture, in academic studies.

Since community control, have there been changes in curriculum, in the library, in the course work, and in other ways, efforts to teach about those things to the children?

Mrs. **Young**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. Could you give me some examples.

Mrs. **Young**. We now incorporate black history, the study of black history, into our social studies program, beginning with the very youngest children. It is not a separate unit as such, but the black history is fused with the American history. So that the children can learn that all of this took place in its own time, and that blacks were not excluded in the making of America, in the building of our country.

We teach the children about the continent of Africa, about famous blacks, past and present. We want them to learn the Negro national anthem, and they are allowed to sing that in the school.

We just want them to know that their people had as much of a part in the making of history as anyone else.

Senator **Mondale**. Was that being done before?

Mrs. **Young**. No: it was not being done. It was only done during Negro History Week. And we were talking about George Washington Carver and Benjamin Banneker and maybe two or three others that everyone knows about. But most of our children never heard of Crispus Attucks or Harriet Tubman.

Senator **Mondale**. So one of the things that has clearly changed, in addition to the other things we talked about, is that since community control there has been an entirely new approach to history, to culture, to teaching the children their own backgrounds and history, which was not there before?

Mrs. **Young**. That's right.

Senator **Mondale**. Are the children interested in that? Do they respond to it?

Mrs. **Young**. For the most part they are. They are. Now some of them—as I have been—were so brainwashed, that they didn't want to hear this in the beginning. But now they are coming out and beginning to really see that this is very important to them.

Senator **Mondale**. Can you think of some other ways in which there have been changes since community control?

Mrs. **Young**. There have been so many changes.

SOCIAL BENEFITS

Mr. **Anthony**. I think one of the things that seems to me to be one of the very important things is in terms of their respect for each other. I see where they are getting along much better with each other now as human beings.

Senator Mondale. The children?

Mr. Anthony. The children. And not only the children, but I also see changes within the staff. And this is not only true I guess at Morgan, but I see some things all around the schools in the District of Columbia, that the kids are getting along better with each other. They seem to take a sense of pride in themselves.

I think one of the unique things at Morgan, as a result of community control, has been the openness that we have at Morgan. For example, why should a child really ask a teacher, "May I go to the restroom?" When that is a nonnegotiable item.

Senator Mondale. You'd think so.

Mr. Anthony. I think that is a nonnegotiable item. For example, how many children at home really ask their parents, may I go to the bathroom? So if you are really talking about having children to develop self-discipline, you have to start at a very early age, and once they learn this, then I think later on in society, they are able to discipline themselves accordingly. I think you have to allow them this kind of freedom at a very early age.

Seator Mondale. Let's turn to the parents now. Mrs. Holiday, would you give us your observations about the differences in the school, and how you think it is working out?

STATEMENT OF MRS. JEAN HOLIDAY, PRESIDENT, PTA, MORGAN COMMUNITY SCHOOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Holiday. I think it is working out very well, and I am very happy about it. For instance, when we go and do voluntary work, many of us have other kids at home, but in this way, we can bring our children with us, and if there is someone, maybe on a lunch break or who has a few minutes, they will watch our kids while we go to the classroom or help the teachers, or help the teachers take class trips. We use a conference room to keep the kids in.

It also gives the parents a little pride, we feel good. We feel like if we have any grievances or questions, we feel we can come up and talk to the teachers, or maybe we just want to visit the classrooms and see how the kids are getting along. We are free to come up and sit in the classroom and watch the kids and ask the children questions to see how they are getting along.

We feel free and like we are somebody and we can be recognized as parents.

Senator Mondale. Are you on the school board?

Mrs. Holiday. No, I am not.

Senator Mondale. Are you, Mrs. Baxter?

Mrs. Baxter. No.

Senator Mondale. Have you talked to members of the school board, as well as to the faculty?

Mrs. Holiday. Yes; sometimes I attend the meetings.

Senator Mondale. Do you find them responsive to you? Do they listen?

Mrs. Holiday. Oh, yes. Yes.

Senator Mondale. How many children do you have?

Mrs. Holiday. Four.

Senator Mondale. How many in the school?

Mrs. Holiday. One in school and one getting ready to go to school.

Senator Mondale. I gather you did not have children in the school before it became a community school?

Mrs. Holiday. Yes; at the time they were talking about the community school, I had a daughter that had graduated, then I had a younger child that was coming into it. This is my first year working with the community school.

COMMUNITY SUPPORT

Senator Mondale. Is it your impression that the community prefers the system the way it is now?

Mrs. Holiday. Yes. Not only the parents enjoy it, but we have teenagers that would like to have dances in the afternoon on Fridays, and they allow them to have dances in the school. Community children.

Senator Mondale. So the school is used after hours for other purposes of the community?

Mrs. Holiday. Right, for dances and things like that.

Senator Mondale. Mrs. Baxter, would you give us your viewpoint?

STATEMENT OF MRS. LOUISE BAXTER, MEMBER PAC, MORGAN COMMUNITY SCHOOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Baxter. Well, being a parent myself, I find that having a community school has helped quite a bit. It's a place where we feel free to go in and discuss things, and the children feel freer too. I think, having their parents there sometimes, looking in on them, working with them, makes them feel free.

It's something like a second home to them, and I found that is good for them too.

Senator Mondale. And the faculty seems to welcome them and work with them?

Mrs. Baxter. Yes. The door is open anytime someone wants to come in. If they just have a problem or anything with the children, and they can go to discuss it. They can come right in, and I found that is good.

Senator Mondale. How many children do you have in the school?

Mrs. Baxter. I have one at Morgan now.

CONTROL OF FUNDS

Senator Mondale. Mr. Anthony, what kinds of problems are there with community control as you now practice it? You must, like some others, find that some of the community control really isn't there.

Mr. Brown defined what he thought the elements were of community control. Basically, as I understood it, the school is run by a locally elected community school board and it receives the funds, without strings, from headquarters.

Now I believe it is fair to say that that is not exactly the case at Morgan, that there are strings attached, controls, that it isn't a fully community controlled school. Am I wrong in that or not?

Mr. Anthony. Well, basically, I guess to an extent, you are really talking about complete community control. And I think the only way to have complete community control is that you really control the purse strings. And of course——

Senator **Mondale**. Well, I would assume that would mean you get the money that you need, you are able to hire and fire, you are able to determine curriculum, you are able to run that school, almost completely, through the locally elected school board. I assume that that is what you are talking about, so that the directions and trends are up to that school board, and the policy is handled there, and not somewhere else.

One of the big complaints in the community school issue is that so many of these schools that are called community schools in fact are run by somebody else. Barbara Sizemore, who was with the Woodlawn School project in Chicago, was here yesterday, and she said that in fact the key issues, or many of the issues, are determined by the middle-level bureaucracy in the school board downtown; that even though the school board has been very open and supportive, when they finally get down to the question of running the school, the bureaucracy runs it, anyway. And we have heard this complaint from many people who have tried to establish community schools. Do you find that you have a pretty full range of choices?

Mr. **Anthony**. I find—and I guess it's because of the makeup of Washington—we don't have the kinds of problems which confront other schools. We do have some problems in terms of the central system delivering services to us, which are needed, like supplies. However, we do try to work those things out.

I think the fortunate thing we have is an agreement with the central Board of Education, which allows the Morgan School Board to do practically everything, with the exception of, I guess, really holding the money for personnel and supplies. I think it's because of the many problems they have, I guess, with personnel in terms of getting supplies to the school system.

I do feel this, I think that the locally elected board hired me, and I am accountable to the local board. And I have found that working with them has been most enjoyable. And I carry out their policies.

ROLE OF CENTRAL SCHOOL BOARD

The thing I would like to see is that the central board be much more responsive than what it has been.

Senator **Mondale**. Give me some examples.

Mr. **Anthony**. For instance, I am concerned right now about some repairs around the school. Morgan is a very old school, and we have just been holding it up. For instance, the community, 2 years ago, didn't have guidance facilities, they didn't have a music room, conference rooms. And what we did, in the community, we told them if they would give us the supplies, we would get the necessary labor and do the work ourselves. And this is what we did. In addition to that, we took money out of our pockets. To the extent now that we do have conference rooms, as Mrs. Holiday referred to a few minutes ago, where they can come in and sit down. We have a music room, and we have guidance facilities.

At one time we had to make room for a health clinic that was in the school. It has since moved out because of the increase in patient

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care. We had to make room for it, and what we did, we gave up our office, and then made offices downstairs, in order that the community could have a health clinic in the school. It was very successful, to the extent that we are hoping that in the new school, we will have a complete health unit.

Senator **Mondale**. What happens when the students graduate from Morgan and go on to other more traditional schools in the system? Do they have trouble adjusting, or do they fit in well?

Mr. **Anthony**. We have found they adjust overwhelmingly. We do have a few people who do not.

There is a difference when students who have been allowed to perhaps make a lot of decisions for themselves and have been able to move around in a free atmosphere.

We had, last year, for example, a number of students who received scholarships to go to private schools, and as a matter of fact, one of the boys made the highest grade at the private school. And we are very proud of that, and as a matter of fact, all of them were honor students over there at that school.

In checking with some of the students who went to Gordon Junior High, we found they did very well. There are some kids who had some trouble in adjusting, but overwhelmingly they did fairly well.

Senator **Mondale**. Has the central school administration tried to sabotage or destroy the community control, or turn it back to the old system, or do you think you are pretty well established as a community-control school?

Mr. **Brown**. First of all, I feel that we at Morgan are pretty well established as a community-control school. The central board is available if we need advice. They help us when we ask for help. For instance, if there are some things we don't understand, our special projects director is always available to give us a clearer understanding of the questions that we ask.

Senator **Mondale**. You don't feel that the central school administration is opposed to community control efforts?

Mr. **Brown**. No, at least not in their actions; not in their actions.

TEACHERS' UNION

Senator **Mondale**. Do you have any resistance from the professional organizations such as the teachers' organizations?

Mr. **Brown**. No. In fact, we have a very strong working relationship with the District of Columbia Teachers Union.

Senator **Mondale**. How did you develop that?

Mr. **Brown**. Well, I think first of all they appreciate what we are trying to do, and I think they understand what we are trying to do, and also I think the Teachers' Union itself sees a need for the type of things we are doing in Morgan—especially since many of the people who are in that particular union, and many of the people who probably helped that particular union, have undergone the same experiences that we have.

Senator **Mondale**. Is the contract with the teachers at Morgan the same as the citywide contract?

Mr. **Brown**. Yes.

Senator **Mondale**. It's the same?

Mr. **Brown**. Right. Hopefully, this summer we will negotiate with the Teachers' Union a subcontract for teachers at Morgan.

Senator **Mondale**. Have they agreed to that?

Mr. **Anthony**. The teachers?

Senator **Mondale**. The Teachers' Union.

Mr. **Brown**. The union has agreed to a subcontract. The thing is now for us to do our work and to be able to sit at the table and talk about some issues.

Senator **Mondale**. Would the subcontract have a different pay rate?

Mr. **Anthony**. Unfortunately, that is one of the things we can't control. We would like to, but we would hope that we could work out something whereby teachers are given some other benefits, rather than merit pay. I hope within the subcontract that we will be able to do something in terms of either training or travel or something like that, for the betterment of the community and for them.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you have difficulty recruiting or attracting good teachers to Morgan?

Mr. **Anthony**. As a matter of fact, just last night, the personnel chairman gave to Mr. Brown a list of people from all over the country, and from a couple of foreign countries, requesting employment at Morgan Community School. I guess approximately 45 or 50 people, including around four Ph. D.'s.

Mr. **Brown**. And that also does not include the numerous applications we have presently received.

Senator **Mondale**. Is that a new phenomenon, or is that true since Morgan became a community school?

Mr. **Brown**. Since the beginning of community control.

Senator **Mondale**. There is a tremendous unemployment problem among teachers now, but that has been true even——

Mr. **Anthony**. This was true prior to the unemployment crisis.

Senator **Mondale**. Well, you know, in Rough Rocks, Ariz., it was said that you couldn't talk the Navajos into coming back to the reservation even when they were teachers, they didn't want to return.

But when they set up the Navajo community controlled school, the Rough Rock School, lo and behold, the Navajos started showing up back on the reservation, and wanted to help. This was a school they thought was consistent with the needs of the children.

CLARK READING PLAN

What is the attitude of the Morgan School toward the Clark reading plan? That must be a tough one.

Mrs. **Young**. We believe that the Clark reading plan could be a good plan. We don't believe that in 1 year you can elevate the reading scores of children who may have been 2 or 3 years behind, up to grade level.

We believe that with dedicated teaching, and continuing in the way we have been going, we can elevate our children's scores. We don't think this Clark plan is an end to that solution.

With the academic achievement program, there has been so much hustle and hassle about this program in our school and downtown, I don't think really the system knows exactly what they want to do with it.

We did go along with this program last year. We found quite a few problems connected with it, in that there were so many workshops and meetings set up for teachers during the school day, every time you turned around there was another meeting, another workshop, in relation to this AAP. This pulled our teachers out of the classroom when we felt more time spent in the classroom with the children would help.

If there are going to be workshops and meetings, we felt they should be after school hours, and the teachers should attend.

Mr. Anthony. As a matter of fact, I think we can do much more with the Clark plan if they just would tell us what they expect the children to really understand, that is the basic skills of reading and writing, for with the kind of staff we have, we could accomplish these objectives.

I think the fortunate thing is that we have the kind of teachers who are committed and willing to stay in the afternoon and willing to meet early in the morning, to do these kinds of things, rather than having to go all over town to workshops.

Mr. Brown. I feel that no one plan or no one approach can alleviate many of the problems that have been compounded over a period of almost 300 years.

Likewise, I feel that if there is a plan, the first thing you have to alleviate, if you intend to help anybody on an educational level, are the attitudes and insecurities which have been built into black people over a number of years. I think I mentioned those attitudes and basic insecurities previously.

Senator Mondale. I agree with everything you said, although I am sure I don't feel it as deeply as you, because I am not black, but suppose there is a child who isn't learning how to read at Morgan. He knows that; doesn't he?

Mr. Brown. That he isn't learning? Sure.

Senator Mondale. Isn't it awfully hard to teach him self esteem, when he knows he is not getting it?

ESTABLISHING NEED FOR SKILLS

Mr. Brown. Well, I think basically what you have to teach the kid is the need to read. For instance, in my professional life, I work with fellows who dropped out of school, fellows who have been in penal institutions, fellows who got hooked on the drug thing.

One thing that I have discovered across the board is that first of all you try to show them that they are going to need to read, and they say, why? What is all this reading going to get me? What is going to high school going to get me, what is going to college going to get me?

Well then you say, well, you can make more money, and he knows that is a lie. Because he probably has seen other people in the neighborhood who have gone to college and are not making as much money as the hustler on the street.

He has probably applied for jobs with the high school diploma, or whatever it is, and found out that the positions were closed to him, not so much that he wasn't qualified, but on the basis of his color.

These type of things, showing people that they have a need, and I think this is what we as black people are about, redefining our needs.

You don't need to know how to read to make it in a white society. You don't need to know how to read in order to build a black society that is going to be strong and that is going to be viable. You need to know how to do math, so you can build a black society that is going to be strong and viable.

You learn to make out, to make decisions on a larger level in order to build a black society that is going to be strong and be black.

I think if you come down to the rationalization that you need to learn how to read because you are going to get a good job when you finish or find a place in society, that's a turnoff, because the kid knows from the earliest stages that such is not the case, that these things do not exist. Atlhough today people are sitting back saying, look how much we have done for the black people, and look how they have gained and how far they have come in terms of employment and in terms of positions they can hold, when even in your Government, we know there are gross inequities. Who gets the supergrades? Who doesn't get those grades?

Sure, blacks may be getting jobs as typists, or aides, or assistants, and so forth, with college and high school degrees, but are they getting jobs in which they are participating in the decisionmaking process, in which they feel they have some control over what happens to them in this country?

We have things like the Black Caucus, the fiasco they went through with the President. These dudes were the elected officials, but look how they were treated. They are representatives of our people, but look how they were treated.

We have here some things as our dear Vice President going to Africa, knocking our leaders over here. Look how we are being treated, even with our education and our experience.

So the only alternative—and this is what we are dealing with—alternatives that we have not been able to enter this society, in the mainstream of this society, so that we must in effect almost create one which we feel that we can function in, and one in which we feel comfortable.

Senator MONDALE. And for that you see a need——

Mr. BROWN. For community control.

Senator MONDALE. For basic skills?

Mr. BROWN. Right: basic skills, but teaching them with a new rationalization.

Senator MONDALE. Do you find some who are turned off the desire to accomplish the basic skills, who will respond to that argument where they won't to the other one?

Mr. BROWN. Well, in my field of employment, I have found that fellows who have dropped out of school will go back and get the GED; some will go back and will go to college; others will read and learn on their own. Others will seek help from people who they feel are qualified to help them. The motivation is completely different.

MORGAN COMMUNITY SCHOOL BOARD

Senator MONDALE. You are chairman of the board of Morgan Community School, but you have other employment?

Mr. BROWN. I am director of basic education for Versar Inc., which is a research corporation.

Senator MONDALE. How long have you been on the school board?

Mr. BROWN. Three months, approximately, now.

Senator MONDALE. You were just elected?

Mr. BROWN. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. How many members are there on the school board?

Mr. BROWN. Fifteen.

Senator MONDALE. Do you have children in the school?

Mr. BROWN. No; I do not.

Senator MONDALE. Fifteen school board members. How often are the elections? Two years?

Mr. BROWN. Every year.

Senator MONDALE. And the whole school board is elected?

Mr. ANTHONY. On a staggered basis.

Senator MONDALE. How long is the term?

Mr. BROWN. Three years.

Senator MONDALE. So a third is up every year?

Mr. BROWN. Right.

VOTER PARTICIPATION

Senator MONDALE. How many people voted in your election?

Mr. BROWN. 300 or 400.

Senator MONDALE. That is the total?

Mr. ANTHONY. 304.

Mr. BROWN. I am not too familiar with the figures.

Senator MONDALE. How many voted 2 years ago, do you know?

Mr. ANTHONY. I know how many voted in 1969. It was about 600 or 700.

Senator MONDALE. So it's substantially reduced? About half as many voted this time?

Mr. ANTHONY. Right.

Senator MONDALE. How many estimated voters are there eligible to participate in that school board election; do you know?

Mr. ANTHONY. Well, the whole Adams-Morgan area is eligible to vote, and that covers I guess about 300 acres and approximately 35,000 people.

Morgan Community School is situated right in a poverty pocket. There are families there with incomes up to $25,000. There are three elementary schools—Adams on the hill, and Cook, and Morgan is right in the middle.

Senator MONDALE. And it's only Morgan that has the community school?

Mr. ANTHONY. Adams has also.

Senator MONDALE. They have a separate school board?

Mr. ANTHONY. Right. So consequently, the people are interested in that particular school in the immediate area, rather than the entire area.

Senator MONDALE. Now how about the decrease from 600 to 300-something. What happened there?

Mr. ANTONY. I think one of the reasons is that last year there was a tremendous effort put forth to get people out, and that year the staff helped a lot in terms of getting posters and things out, and the parents.

And this year the members of PAC were very busy. We were concerned with this academic achievement program, and we did a lot of publicity, but not as much as last year.

Senator **Mondale**. Mrs. Holiday, maybe you can explain this apparent apathy toward the elections, with only 300-something showing up.

Mrs. **Holiday**. The only thing I can see is that, Adams being a community school, and Morgan being a ~~community~~ school, maybe those that were interested in Morgan voted for Morgan, and those that were interested in Adams voted for Adams.

Senator **Mondale**. Are those separate elections? Or are they held together?

Mrs. **Holiday**. Separate. At different times.

Mr. **Brown**. I would like to respond to that question also. Again, you know, it's—for instance this year, I don't think there were any great issues involved.

Senator **Mondale**. Were you opposed for election?

Mr. **Brown**. Right. I think there were two or three other people running for that office.

And as far as trying to stimulate people who have never really experienced control to come out and vote—like with this country, where it has been going on for ages and ages, and you still don't have the numbers of people coming out to vote in this country like you would want them to come out to vote. I think it's true for a community in which people never before had any type of control, never before had a need to even come out and vote.

Now we are showing them a need to do this—look, you do have control, you do have a voice. Again, this is a totally new thing for black people that we actually can control something. That we actually have a voice in something, that we actually have some kind of power, although it's minimal.

EXTENSION OF COMMUNITY CONTROL TO BUSINESS

Hopefully control of our educational institutions—this may perhaps be just the first step to something else, in which we can control, for instance, the businesses in our community. Then we can control the land on which black people live such as the houses we live in, rather than paying such exorbitant amounts of rent for the poor housing facilities, we perhaps can start owning our own houses and building the type of houses on that kind of land that we want to build.

As far as I am concerned, this is a totally new thing for black people, saying I have any control over my life. In the past, black people didn't have that. You don't have any control over getting on this earth, and leaving it, and with anything in-between, we never had control.

This is the first time, and it takes time. For instance, after the so-called emancipation of black people, when they let the slaves loose, the people didn't have the expertise, they were not taught, so therefore they had to learn how to deal with independence and freedom.

I think you see that thing going on all over the world, with people who have been newly emancipated and given independence without being given the adequate background to deal with the problems that come with independence and freedom, trying to learn how to do it, and the best way to learn how to do it is by controlling it.

Senator MONDALE. When you ran for Chairman of the School Board, what were the key points that you made in your campaign? What did you tell the folks you were going to do?

GOAL OF STRONG COMMUNITY

Mr. BROWN. Basically, what I strongly believe in is to help to make Morgan Community into a stronger community, into a community in which people have control over their lives and destinies, and use our educational institution as the hub of the wheel, in which everything else rotates, around which everything rotates.

Senator MONDALE. So you didn't limit it to the school, but to controlling the territory? Housing?

Mr. BROWN. I don't think you can dwell only within four walls of a school. That is not an issue. The main issue that black people should be dealing with right now is controlling all phases of your life, and I think that the people who voted for me appreciated that particular ideology, if you want to call it that. But it's a fact that if we are to survive——

Senator MONDALE. What did your toughest opponent—what did he or she say? Did you beat an incumbent?

Mr. BROWN. No; I was running against two new people like myself. I suppose the difference in what I said and what they said is that basically they were there to help the school grow, and my thinking was to help the school grow by helping the community grow, because your school is only going to be as strong as your community. If one is weak, the other, out of necessity, is going to be weak.

It is my thinking, to stabilize not only the school but the community, so that growth can take place, and like I said, the issue goes far beyond Morgan.

It seems like people have this fixation of looking at Morgan, perhaps because it is one of the first, as far as blacks are concerned. But the issue goes far beyond Morgan, and it goes far beyond the simple control of the school.

The issue goes to the controlling of our lives, and the things which most affect our lives. The police force, and the way they treat us. The businesses in our community; and do they employ us, and do they train us to take responsible positions in the businesses; and eventually can we obtain ownership of those businesses?

The issues have to deal with how much ownership do we have of the land we are living on.

This I think is what controls what we get for the moneys that are floating around this country, very little of which I feel are actually going profitably to black people, because I think I can say with all certainty that much of the money that is supposed to be helping black people develop does not help black people but helps other folks grow richer. For instance, the training programs. Who really gets the money in the end, and who does it really help in the end?

The whole idea of education and control, that is the issue. It goes beyond any one school or one area, I feel.

COOPERATION WITH ADAMS SCHOOL

Senator MONDALE. Are there any differences in the amount of control or the nature of the program between the Adams and Morgan schools? Mr. Anthony, maybe you could answer that.

Mr. ANTHONY. I can't really answer that. We are in the process now of getting perhaps the boards to working together, I understand that they are going to in the very near future, and then we will be doing things together in the community.

Mr. BROWN. Not only that, but we are trying to generate something like—putting out feelers to bring other organizations—community organizations, such as cultural organizations, drug organizations, to take an active part in what goes on in the school.

My thing is to make the educational institution a hub in the wheel, but likewise, you cannot neglect the other organizations operating within your community. If there is a lack of organizations to deal with the problems of the community, maybe we ought to create those around the specific problems of that specific community.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much for being willing to come up here this morning, and give us the benefit of your experience in one of the few community-controlled schools in the country.

Thank you very much.

The committee is in recess, to reconvene on August 5.

(Whereupon, at 11:35 a.m., the Select Committee was recessed, to reconvene at 9:30 a.m., on August 5, 1971, in room 1224, New Senate Office Building.)

QUALITY IN EDUCATION

THURSDAY, AUGUST 5, 1971

U.S. Senate
Select Committee on
Equal Educational Opportunity
Washington, D.C.

The Select Committee met at 9:30 a.m., pursuant to call, in room 1224, New Senate Office Building, the Honorable Walter F. Mondale, chairman of the committee, presiding.

Present: Senator Mondale.

Staff members present: Francis Hennigan, minority staff director; Leonard P. Strickman, minority counsel; and Donald S. Harris, professional staff.

Senator Mondale. The meeting will come to order. Our panel this morning consists of Dr. Bernard Watson, professor of urban education, Temple University, Philadelphia; Dr. Arthur E. Thomas, director of the Center for the Study of Student Citizenship, Rights & Responsibilities, Dayton, Ohio; Dr. Donald Smith, director of educational development, Bernard Baruch College, New York City. Dr. Watson has a plane to catch, so we will begin with him and try to get him out of here in time with his schedule. Proceed.

STATEMENT OF DR. BERNARD C. WATSON, PROFESSOR OF URBAN EDUCATION, TEMPLE UNIVERSITY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Dr. Watson. To say that American education generally and public schools specifically are in trouble is to repeat a commonplace, a cliché. I will not bore you or waste your time with such statements. Rather, I would like to take this opportunity to state my belief that what passes for education in far too many of our public schools, especially those serving the poor, black, Spanish-speaking and native American, is, in fact, ineffective, demeaning, gross, and dehumanizing. It is ineffective because it fails to transmit even the most rudimentary skills to millions of children and youth. It is demeaning because the schools project the blame for this sorry state of affairs upon the children and youth who are its victims. It is gross because our efforts are tainted with the conventional wisdom and technology of a world which no longer exists. And it is dehumanizing because it appears designed either by intent or indirection to destroy the very qualities which have served to liberate the human spirit through the ages: Hope, trust, curiosity, openness, humanity, and love.

It is not as if we have been unaware of this sorry state of affairs; we have known about the situation I describe for many years. The literature of education, such as it is, abounds with data. And yet, very little can be pointed to which has attempted to attack the fundamental and root causes of a situation which in 1971 threatens at the very least to shake the foundations of this republic and, at the worst, threatens to destroy that fragile, yet all important, concept of comity upon which this Nation rests and upon which it has been able to survive, thus far, despite assaults from within and without.

EDUCATIONAL CRUSADES

An examination of recent history leaves one bewildered, shocked, and angry at our responses to the problems of education. Almost by reflex, it seems, we have approached the situation with what one of my good friends—an outstanding principal—calls a series of "symbolic crusades." And I think that, just as cliches often serve to avoid thinking, so these "crusades" may have substituted for the kind of serious action needed.

CURRICULUM INNOVATIONS

Among these crusades, innovative curriculum, or methods, millions of dollars have been poured into the development and packaging of new curriculums: Madison math, or PSSC science; urban problems or ecology; human relations or affective development. With Federal funds, we have brought IMC's to many schools and a TV to almost every classroom. We have computer-assisted instruction, language laboratories, programed learning. We issue cameras and film to first graders and college students alike. When we run out of fresh gimmicks, we try new arrangements: Team teaching, one-to-one tutoring, nongraded classrooms, continuous progress schemes, modular scheduling.

Senator MONDALE. I see in Dallas that they are solving the integration problem by two-way television. The children can look at each other in separate schools by television.

Dr. WATSON. That is an interesting way to achieve integration. I had better have a look at that.

Team teaching is another "symbolic crusade" by itself, because it is so frequently touted as a cure-all. "If we could only get those poor teachers out of their isolation and put them to work with their colleagues," goes this speil, "if we just switch kids around from small groups to large and back again, tear down a few walls and make everybody flexible—why, education will blossom!" And so, in many cases, the crusade has carried the day—but without essential planning and staff development. Teachers trained for individual classrooms couldn't function in a totally new situation, or the time for team planning wasn't built into the schedule, or the kids rebelled against dragging chairs wherever they went—and the result was frustration and failure of yet another panacea.

Integration is yet another crusade for which many educators have marched. This time the enemy was said to be the separation of races and economic groups. That could be licked, it was thought, by putting youngsters in a room together—and, I am tempted to add, shaking well! That they might have different life styles, learning patterns, or academic backgrounds—or even more that racial hostility might exist among teachers and administrators as well as students—was apparently irrelevant.

VALUE OF INTEGRATION

I must note here that I am not arguing against integration. Indeed, if we are to survive as a genuinely pluralistic society and not be split into competing and hostile groups based upon race, ethnicity, religion, or socioeconomic status, integration is essential. Deeply rooted in the history of American public education is its task of reducing, not promoting separation. But, I am arguing against thoughtless application of a simplistic solution. Integration alone does not confront the basic issues of the quality of the curriculum or the staff teaching it. Too often children have become the victims of well-meaning efforts to integrate: When they have been bused to a rundown school and overwhelmed, by their very numbers, its already meager resources. Or when they have been sent to a school where higher standards make them suffer daily for the sins of their former school.

A fourth symbolic crusade—decentralization and community control. The headlines of recent years may have indicated that the demands of these crusaders are startlingly new. But of course, the affluent and well-educated members of our society have always controlled their schools and staff and programs. The problem arose when poor people demanded the same right.

COMMUNITY CONTROL

For a while the crusade was "community involvement," but, as Peter Schrag bitterly pointed out, that often means—

> at best, that the locals are invited to meetings where they can express their view; usually it only means that in return for a cookie and a glass of punch, they have the privilege of being told what they are doing wrong at home and how they should instill the proper attitudes in their children (Peter Schrag, "Village School Downtown," Boston: Beacon Press, 1967).

So the demands went beyond involvement and became those of decentralization and community control. The rub is that these, too, are meaningless unless decisionmaking and financial power are transferred. And because that is almost never done, we have been treated more than once to the sorry spectacle of community groups fighting among themselves for crumbs and bare bones. The "crusade" becomes a power struggle, not a serious attempt to move responsibility for education closer to the people whose children inhabit the schools.

RELEVANCE

Fifth in my list, familiar enough but difficult to define, is the crusade which instructs us to "turn on the kids." Now I confess that I am mystified by this term, although goodness knows it has found its way into everyone's vocabulary. But in schools it seems to mean doing things which kids "dig" or "groove on." It means being "relevant" and "with it" and "sensitive" and all sorts of other things which come across to me, at least, as laden with value but devoid of content. In practice, it all too frequently turns out to mean relaxation of standards, abandonment of discipline, and abdiction of responsibility. Even more, "turning on the kids" becomes a way to manipulate them into believing that consciousness III and the age of Aquarius have somehow obviated the necessity for competition in a complex world. When this happens to kids who have other options to fall back on, I'm not so worried. But when I find some hairy barefoots—as they were aptly described by a colleague—parading as teachers and encouraging young black ghetto residents to forgo such basics as cleanliness, punctuality, purpose, and standards—well, I get pretty mad.

The opponents of the turning-on crusade have, of course, begun their own crusade, and it is labeled "discipline." The rhetoric here decries everything from just plain sloppiness to outright violence and proposes as the solution a big stick. The slogan does not bother to distinguish between kids who pass well-kept lawn and friendly neighbors on their way to school and those who must cross rubbish-littered lots to avoid junkies on the corner and stumble over sleeping winos. It does not ask whether kids' minds are filled with thoughts of exciting vacations and new clothes, or whether they are wrapped in a fog or worry about rats at home and bullies at recess. It raises few educational questions and answers them all with "respect," "order," and "discipline."

INFORMAL CLASSROOMS

There are other symbolic crusades; my list is not exhaustive. One which seems to be just beginning now is the informal classroom. Its Bible was the Plowden report. The Plowden report is properly known as "Children and Their Primary Schools," a report of the Central Advisory Council for Education. London: HMSD, 1967, and its chief prophet was Joseph Featherstone, who popularized the British infant school reforms in a series of New Republic articles. Joseph Featherstone's series of articles, "The Primary School Revolution in Britain," appeared in the New Republic of August 10, September 2, and September 9, 1967. Despite the fact that the British are still arguing the pros and cons, Americans in great numbers have flocked to this banner, and the march is underway. Indeed, Charles Silberman, whose recent book "Crisis in the Classroom," New York: Random House, 1970, I very much admire—although I disagree with one of his major conclusions—might be called this crusade's current apostle. Yet many who are rushing to get on the informal classroom bandwagon know little of what it entails in terms of program, teacher training, planning or operation.

Do not misunderstand me. I have not come here to denounce new curriculums, integration, community control, discipline, or a host of other excellent possibilities for our schools. Far from it. The trouble is that we so seldom stop to think what we are doing. Like so many frantic children we rush about from one innovation to another, hoping or pretending that the bits and pieces will keep the whole enterprise from coming unstuck.

The band-aid approach is, at best, silly, because it is so thoughtless, limited, and impartial. It may prove tragic if it prevents us from facing the very serious situation we are in. I do not deny that some students in some schools have benefited from the band aids we have applied. But we cannot afford to pay for small successes and congratulate ourselves. There are too many—black and white, rich and poor, city and suburban—who are still being damaged or destroyed by mindless schools and meaningless classes. Their despair and rage may yet wreck education as we know it—and our Nation too—unless we find ways to turn the whole system, not just parts of it, around.

I have indicated that symbolic crusades will not do it. And I should like to repeat also that these crusades often mask a very real problem in which we are all involved. I am talking about the Balkanization of the educational enterprise by those who are paid to staff and run it. Not only are teachers organized, but custodians, cooks, busdrivers, nurses, aides, principals, and even supervisory personnel, have all organized to carve up the system's resources and exert control over their own piece of turf. Ironically, many of the arguments and actions are justified in terms of "improving education," but usually little is left for students. The kids always come out on the short end of the stick. It should be obvious to you by now that what I have discussed thus far applies to much of public education in this country. But it should be equally obvious that the pathology is most pronounced and observable in the schools serving the poor and ethnic minorities. And it always has been thus.

SHORTCHANGING MINORITIES

One only needs to read "Laggards in our Schools," written by Leonard Ayres—New York: Survey Association, Inc., 1913—at the turn of the century to find documentation of the miserable job schools did and continue to do for the poor of whatever race or ethnic designation. The problem continues to be worse for black, brown, red, and yellow American minorities. Imagine what it must be like for an American Indian to sit in a class studying the history of great Americans and never hear the name of Chief Joseph. Or to hear from his history teacher that Columbus discovered America.

Can you imagine what a black child thinks when he goes through 12 years of public education and hears the American Negro referred to only in connection with slavery, crime, broken families, welfare, and riots? Try to imagine what it is like for a Chicano to be viewed and referred to as something less than an American and have to sit through social studies classes which never deal with Spanish culture or the civilizations which existed long before the white man came to these shores. Can you imagine what a Japanese-American thinks when U.S. history neglects to include a discussion of the Japanese internment during World War II?

Can you, just for a moment, think of yourself as a black child in a black school where most of the staff is white, where all of the heroes discussed are white, where all the music is "classical," where all of the art is European, where all of the textbooks deal with European history and culture, where all of the illustrations are of Europeans or hastily and strategically "colored over" white faces?

Try to imagine, if you can still tolerate this flight into unreality, a curriculum that fails to deal with basic concerns of poor and minority peoples: Credit and loan sharking, consumer protection, intelligent use of purchasing and political power, police-community relations, racism, religious intolerance, drugs, employment, survival. Yes—survival; not only physical and psychological survival, but the ability to remain human in a society which seems to be increasingly inhuman and antipeople.

But enough. I am sure you have heard these things from many who have appeared before you. Let me briefly place some of these concerns in human terms. In many of our cities the high school average daily attendance is less than 50 percent. From what some administrators and school board members say, the same is true in some of our more affluent suburban areas. These students are not disrupting schools and tearing them apart, although there is enough of that too; they have merely tuned school out. School has become irrelevant.

And yet, when you engage these youth in conversation, it becomes obvious quickly that these young people read, think, care, feel. And they are articulate. Businessmen tell me that high school graduates in our cities have to be taught basic skills of reading, speaking, and mathematics before they can be placed in entry level jobs. After 12 years of school. And yet, colleges which have admitted scores of these youth report amazing college performances despite mediocre high school records. What happened?

This is an important question especially in view of the fact that many Americans—with many educators among them, indeed leading them—feel that if you don't "get to"—whatever that means—minority and poor youth during the early years of school it is too late. What a commentary on human potential. What an indictment of those who call themselves educators.

SUGGESTED APPROACHES

What is one to do? What is the solution? The answer is that there is no single solution. Nor is there a simple answer to problems as complex and of such long standing as these. I do believe, however, that there are several intelligent approaches to the fundamental problems.

First, it should be recognized that my remarks shall be addressed to the job that education can do. It does not need repeating that all of society has a part in the resolution of these problems. The problems of housing, unemployment, lack of equal opportunity, inflation, and others all impinge upon the resolution of the exacerbation of educational problems.

Second, it must be recognized that there are as many learning styles as there are individuals. Some are quite comfortable, and do well in the conventional classroom in the conventional school. Others do not. Some learn by sight, some by the auditory method, some by manipulation, some by memorization, others by solving problems. Some can learn better outside the school, some in groups, others individually. Schooling must accommodate all of these learning styles.

Third, it must be recognized that all can learn. And it is the responsibility of educators to create the environment where every individual can learn; whether on the street, in the halls, in a classroom, in a storefront, on a stage, painting, dancing, reading, singing, working, talking, or listening. In fact, all of these.

Fourth, it must be recognized that many people can teach: Parents, peers, paraprofessionals, ministers, businessmen, professionals, animals, politicians. And so do television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and comic books.

Fifth, it must be recognized that learning is not about basic skills alone. Skills such as reading and writing and arithmetic are tools. Learning leads to education and education is about self-realization, self-direction, sensitivity to the human condition, awareness. Education is about respect, compassion, caring, loving.

Sixth, educators, and indeed, all Americans, must recognize that education is about survival. It is about achieving pluralism in a democratic setting. It is about recognizing and accepting—not tolerating—differences. It is about the differences which can destroy this country or make it realize its promise and, in the process, make it truly great.

HUMANE SYSTEM

Finally, let me make it clear that all of our innovations, all of our technology, all of our money, all of our expertise will avail us naught unless we can create, perhaps invent, an educational process and system which is humane and caring. Let's talk about that. The concept "humane" has two aspects: Enlightenment and compassion. As Herbert Thelen—"The Humane Person Defined", unpublished, November 2, 1967, St. Louis, Mo., Secondary Leadership Conference—points out:

> The humane person acts with wit and wisdom, openness to ideas: he inquires, he appreciates and judges man by his accomplishments and aspirations. These characteristics distinguish man from animals and are therefore humane. Mass murder also distinguishes man from the animals, but this is not humane, for the second aspect is compassion.

To be humane means to care. Some few years back, prior to the onset of urban riots, the Congress refused to appropriate a paltry sum of money for a rat eradication program. As a columnist, Robert Raines—"Riots and Responsibility, Renewal," September 1967—pointed out:

> Eradicating rats, of course, would not eliminate riots. It would only suggest that somebody cared.

What I am suggesting is that people who are concerned about education and especially those who make their living in schools must be taught and educated to give a damn, to care. Not to give love or reward for their definition of achievement, but to give it because the child is a human being. When people care, all things are possible. The work of the Lippits in Detroit, of Judge Mary Kohler in Newark and New York, of Sam Sheppard in St. Louis, of countless other youth-serving-youth programs instruct us that caring pays off. Without an additional cent—although the need for additional billions is acute—we could capitalize on the concern and caring already present in our schools. And for those who don't care and seem incapable of giving a damn, we must find ways of eliminating them. What they do to young people is too horrendous to be tolerated any longer.

What I am suggesting is not a panacea. It is not a solution. At best, it is a formulation buttressed by some empirical data and years of experience to support a basic philosophical belief; that is, that human qualities are more powerful, more important in uniting people in a community of concern and compassion than all of the other artificial and culturally imposed barriers which divide us. Fundamentally, this means that integration is an imperative, a necessity, absolutely crucial. Not the integration which translates to black kids being transported miles to rub elbows with white kids, or the integration which means putting Chicanos in classrooms with Anglos, or the mixing of kids in cold, unfeeling buildings called schools. In my definition it means recognizing, accepting, understanding, and, indeed, cherishing the integration of the human spirit in all of its richness and diversity. It means in fact confronting and openly embracing all of the difficulties involved in the recreation, reinvention, and rebirth of a society which has too long denied its future. If we as Americans can accept this challenge, the price is not exhorbitant for the product: A viable, concerned, enlightened, society of caring, humane individuals. I think it is worth striving for. The alternatives are too frightening to contemplate.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you, Dr. Watson, for an excellent statement. You should get out of town now to catch your plane, but you will have about 20 speechwriting offers as you leave the room here if you are not careful. I think we have a rule here that statements are never supposed to be interesting—you have violated the rule.

I plowed through the Silberman book, and I would like to ask in what respect you disagree, but I could not help but find a similarity in your approaches, in the sense that he seems to attack mindlessness as one of the key problems in American education. You call for a sense of humanity and caring, respect, to be the fundamental thrust of American society, including the educational process, and this makes a great deal of sense to me. But as we seek to prepare a report from this committee on equal education opportunity, I am trying to figure out how you get your hands on that, what possible techniques or recommendations would come to grips with this indictment?

MINDLESSNESS

Dr. WATSON. There are several ways of answering that, Senator. First, my basic disagreement with Silberman is his focus on mindlessness. That may very well be true with a number of people in the schools, but there are also people in the schools who really dislike kids. There are also large numbers of people in the schools who are racist in their attitudes toward children. There are also large numbers of people in schools who really believe that poor kids cannot learn and treat them that way, and the kids respond in kind; and there are also people in the schools who see that their job has nothing to do with the performance of the children. When we talk about the ouput, they are very willing to talk about the input; salaries, class size and all of that, protection; they are not willing to talk about linking the input to the output, which is whether the kids know any more when they leave than they do when they come in.

I think we can build some rather simple-minded methods of accountability. Let me just give you an example. For example, if you say, in the first 4 years of school, since basic skills are tools for further education, that we are going to make a good diagnosis of every kid who comes in here, and at the end of 4 years, if that child has started at C, he had better be a G, F, or Q when he gets out of here. If he was in regular attendance at the school and did not improve then that school did not do the job.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The other part of this. In terms of some specific recommendation, I think we have to do something about getting more community involvement, and I think we have to do something about the transfer of power. I talked about the children sitting in classrooms who do not hear anything that relates to them as blacks, Chicanos, Indians, Asians, Americans, Puerto Ricans. We can do something about it.

Let me give you specific examples of cities that have done something about involving minority communities. Detroit and Philadelphia probably have the best records in terms of bringing minorities into decision-making and power positions in their school systems and they have brought qualified, competent people in there. That was an act which needed to be done, but it also provided a symbolic act for the people who were in the classes in most of our urban schools, and they are increasingly becoming minority and poor school systems.

Those are the kinds of specific simple-minded things that can be done. When I talk about creating a system which incorporates all of these components—let me give you some other examples. You have the Christian Action Ministry in Chicago, which is doing some things in terms of walk-in schools, store-front type programs which are working.

You have had the Carson Pirie Scott program, which has existed there for many years. You have the Urban League Street Academy program, which is working; and my suggestion is that school systems ought to take a look at school programs like that and use some of their resources to create other kinds of alternatives to the large high school, the standard classroom, whatever.

In Philadelphia, they have a program called the neighborhood counseling center. It is called Franklin House, and it is for kids who are so battered that the center has to provide the total resources for them. They live there if that is necessary; they provide psychological counseling; they have teachers to provide their total education, deal with drug problems and whatever.

These are the kinds of things that the resources now available are in schools can do. I do not think that it is a matter of wanting to do the right thing; in my view, the kind of formulation that I am suggesting, and that others have suggested before you, is what we have to do, because the alternatives to that are spending many more times the amount of money trying to rehabilitate and rebuild people that we have destroyed in a process which was supposed to free them and enable them to exercise some control over their own destiny and their own lives.

Senator MONDALE. Did I understand you correctly to say that one of the structural recommendations that would help lead to this variety of culturally sensitive approaches, would be meaningful efforts of community involvement, so that the personnel in the system would be more accountable to the clients, the kids, than is often the case, particularly in our central school systems? How heavily do you come down on the community control recommendation?

Dr. **Watson**. I think it is absolutely essential, Senator.

Senator **Mondale**. Do you mean controlling the budget, hiring, the key elements in the school system?

Dr. **Watson**. What else is there?

Senator **Mondale**. Do you know of any school system in which there is such a community control?

CONTROL IN AFFLUENT SYSTEMS

Dr. **Watson**. No; I do not. Let me just repeat something and possibly expand on what the control business is about. I say that in the more affluent communities, they have always had control.

Senator **Mondale**. That is correct.

Dr. **Watson**. They get accountability from their teachers; they get the kind of curriculum they want; they have people in there who are sensitive and humane to their children. That is what poor people are asking for; that is what they are demanding, and I think that is what they deserve.

Senator **Mondale**. I often think that one thing that explains the movements to the suburbs is a perfectly legitimate desire on the part of people to live in a community in which they have something to say about their lives. I grew up in a very small rural community. Everybody was involved in running the schools.

Dr. **Watson**. The problem again was when the poor people began to ask for that—black people, Chicanos, and others.

I just want to make one other statement about what quality is about. I think my statement made it very clear that I happened to think that true pluralism is an asset. I think it is one of the strengths of this country. I think we have not embraced it the way we should have embraced it.

Let me tell you about a personal experience, a personal reference. I went to an all-black school in a working-class community from the time I was in the first grade all the way through high school. I cannot remember anybody that I went to school with who could not read. We were all poor and raggedy, just like everybody else in that city.

Senator **Mondale**. What community?

Dr. **Watson**. This is Gary, Ind. That school sent 44 percent of its kids to college last year. They will send that number or more this year, and in the 1930's that black school was sending people to Fordham, University of Chicago, and other top universities. I am absolutely convinced that although the teachers there were well trained and at one time—for many years—had more degrees than other teachers in the system, the basic difference in that school was that the teachers gave a damn about the kids.

Senator **Mondale**. Are you saying that in your opinion those schools have deteriorated since the thirties?

Dr. **Watson**. Which schools?

Senator **Mondale**. The one you are talking about.

Dr. **Watson**. The one that I am talking about I think has gotten better.

Senator **Mondale**. Has gotten better?

Dr. **Watson**. Yes. When I was a principal in that school—I went back to that school as a junior high school principal, and then served there as an assistant principal—it is a large school—we were sending then about 30 percent of our kids, and they have increased it up to 44 percent.

Senator Mondale. This is a poor black school?

Dr. Watson. Yes, it is. It is right across the street from the largest Government-project in northern Indiana. Moreover, it has the kind of economic mix that the Coleman report talked about, except that it does not have any white children in it.

Senator Mondale. In other words, they have middle-class blacks?

Dr. Watson. Yes, they do. They have people who exist totally on ADC all the way through people whose parents make $50,000, $60,000 a year because they are professionals.

The point I am trying to make is that it is the quality and the concern that the students and staff have which are at least as important, in terms of where we go eventually, in terms of pluralism and integration.

COLEMAN REPORT

Senator Mondale. You have read the Coleman report. What is your reaction to that, to its recommendations, to its findings?

Dr. Watson. Let me just give several brief comments on the Coleman report. I think his conclusion that the sense of control that children have over their own destinies is probably the most crucial factor. I would agree with that. I have some questions about the research methods that were used because of the necessity of dealing with data, which, of course, was not random data. A lot of school systems were not cooperating with the study; they would not send the material in.

I have another fundamental difference. He talks about having the kind of mix in schools across the broad socioeconomic range, which contributes to the raising of academic achievement, aspirations, and all of that; but he makes what I consider to be an error. Perhaps I have misinterpreted it—I do not think so, others have noticed it. He says that when you take black kids and put them in a school with white kids, that happens, but when you have the socioeconomic mix among black kids it does not happen—I disagree with that.

I have cited things in the report on my own experience with that. It is probably the most monumental study that has ever been done. I think some others need to be done. We need to look at specific instances and try to assess them.

Senator Mondale. I have heard the same analysis that you made, but I understood the Coleman report differently but basically what he is saying is that you need the school to be predominantly higher socioeconomic status children and that race is not the important thing it is the socioeconomic background; the same process would work if you had a class of middle-class blacks in which poor black children can go, and the same would work with whites. I have not read the study myself.

Dr. Watson. He may have intended that, Senator; that is not what I——

Senator Mondale. Yes, but, of course, in one sense the ravages of segregation and discrimination, et cetera, are such that it is awfully hard to find a community in which you have a substantial number of prosperous black families, except in maybe perhaps small areas in the larger cities. You were in public school teaching for some years?

Dr. WATSON. Yes.

Senator MONDALE. What kind of teaching?

Dr. WATSON. I have been a teacher, department chairman, counselor, supervisor of guidance, associate superintendent; I was deputy superintendent of schools in Philadelphia until September last year; I have taught at the university level, and that is where I am now.

CLASSROOM TEACHING

Senator MONDALE. Why did you leave public school teaching?

Dr. WATSON. I left public school teaching because I was not convinced that working with 35 kids in a classroom and counseling the individual kids was enough to deal with the fundamental problems. Teaching is what I preferred doing; that is what I enjoyed doing; but I became an administrator to affect more kids. The reasons I left the Philadelphia school system are complex, but one of them had to do with the existence of a very fine forward-looking superintendent, Mark Shedd, where certain members of the board of education had reached the point where they were hamstringing almost every good thing that he was trying to do. That is among the reasons that I left the public schools of Philadelphia.

I am still vitally interested in them; deeply involved in them and a number of other programs that affect young people. Let me just tell you about one. In the Model Cities program in Philadelphia, which I worked with, in an 18-month period we put 1,100 poor kids in 156 universities in 37 States across this Nation, who would not normally have gone because they were poor and because they had no aspiration of colleges, because they did not have the money and because they had attended some very bad schools. Of that 1,100, in the first 18 months, 20 have dropped out, and only eight of those 20 dropped out for academic reasons, and I think that is a pretty good record. A lot of the things that that program is doing is what schools ought to be doing.

Senator MONDALE. Thank you very much, Dr. Watson, for a most useful statement.

Our next witness is Dr. Arthur E. Thomas, director of the Center for the Study of Student Citizenship, Rights and Responsibilities, of Dayton, Ohio.

STATEMENT OF ARTHUR E. THOMAS, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF STUDENT CITIZENSHIP, RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, DAYTON, OHIO

Dr. THOMAS. Thank you very much, Senator. As I sit back here looking at you up there, I would like to say very clearly to you, and I say this sincerely, that one man with courage is a majority—that is Andrew Jackson—I do not agree with everything he said—but I agree with that.

Senator MONDALE. I have not found that true around here. I hope you are right on that. I do not agree with everything around here, but I will quote you. I have found this a couple of times, but the record we have made on other issues, when no one is interested, has proved fundamental when you get into those types of debates. These are long sessions; we have had hundreds of hours just like this morning. We are building a record that I think is needed in the history of the Congress, that is long overdue—why these schools are not working, why these poor kids are not given a chance. Have you ever testified before Congress?

Dr. **Thomas.** No; I have not.

Senator **Mondale.** We have had hundreds of people, leaders in the field, who have never been heard. As a matter of fact, Dr. Coleman had never been asked to appear before a congressional proceeding.

Dr. **Thomas.** I just want you to know that I see your act as being a very courageous one. That is for the record.

Senator **Mondale.** You can go out on that as long as you want!

Dr. **Thomas.** And also for the record I would like, with your permission, just to talk. I will be summarizing what I have on these pieces of paper.

Senator **Mondale.** We will include your full statement in the record* as though read and you can emphasize those parts that you wish.

DISTRIBUTION OF POWER

Dr. **Thomas.** Let me say first of all that any problem dealing with schools, in my opinion, has to deal with the redistribution of power. Margaret Mead says it another way: Those in power are going to have to give those people that do not have power some power if we are going to be able to solve the problems confronting the world today in a peaceful manner; in other words, if we are not going to end up in war or using guillotines, et cetera.

Alvin Poussaint says it quite another way. He is the black psychiatrist at Harvard. He said that what happened at Oceanville, Brownsville, in New York, was one of the best things that could possibly happen to education. I am talking about freeing the mind, giving people an ideal, an attitude, that they can control what happens to them, because what Poussaint says is that little black children, seeing their mothers and fathers go up against police officers for them to have the right to get into school, freed their minds. That means henceforth, now and forevermore those children will see education as something very important and very meaningful to them. It also did a lot in terms of the so-called generation gap because it showed very young children that their black, mature parents were very courageous and were willing to fight for something meaningful.

McGeorge Bundy says it quite another way: Those people that have power do not have to give it up, but they do have to share it. So I want to emphasize that anything I say hinges on whether or not those in power are willing to deal effectively with the redistribution of power.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Now, with your permission, I would like to deal with 10 specific recommendations that I have relative to how we can bring about equal educational opportunity for everyone. I think the first thing that we have to do—and I want to emphasize here that I am dealing with perception; I am not saying that this is what is happening, but I am saying that many people believe this to be true, and if a person believes this to be true, then for all practical purposes it is true: and if it is not true, then this Government has the responsibility of showing that it is not or of communicating effectively that it is not.

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*See prepared statement of Arthur E. Thomas, p. 5933.

What I am referring to is that I think the No. 1 priority has to be to effectively communicate to black and other oppressed minorities of this country that there is not a plan of genocide to systematically destroy them. No. 2, hold individuals responsible for racism within the educational system accountable for their actions by initiating criminal court actions or through paralegal avenues of arbitration. No. 3, initiate positive programs dealing with self-image similar to the MacFarlane Elementary School program and Community School Council program in Dayton, Ohio. No. 4, institute methods of accountability for administrators and teachers in public schools via the courts, voucher systems, performance contracting, and any other alternative, but I would like to punctuate this recommendation by saying there has to be a redistribution of power. No. 5, reform the decisionmaking bodies of public education to include students with full rights and responsibilities. No. 6, institute student factfinding commissions to deal with racial issues, discipline, curriculum, guidance, and all other areas of public education. No. 7, federally fund student groups to initiate their own programs relative to rights and responsibilities, and education in general. No. 8, federally fund the establishment of coalitions between so-called black militant students and so-called poor white students. No. 9, establish programs of integration in reverse. No. 10, federally fund cable TV networks throughout this country that can broadcast information to the masses of oppressed people relative to student rights, welfare rights, and all other matters concerning the poor and the oppressed.

RACE AND INTELLIGENCE

Recommendation 1. I have already dealt with in terms of the genocide issue. Let me just point out to you how the man in the street feels about some of these things and how many black educators feel about this. There is a man named Jensen going about talking about black people being genetically inferior: then there is a man named Moynihan talking about the black family. Many people feel that this is a very deliberate act to build a case for saying that black people cannot be salvaged. This is particularly important when you think about the fact that there is no cotton to pick and that there are no ditches to dig, and those are the reasons that we first came to these shores.

I am saying that this is very real to some people, the whole question of Title I, which has, in my opinion, an excellent director, Dick Fairley. Many people believe that the Title I program is set up for the purpose of proving that black children cannot learn. It goes something like this. We have been dumping millions of dollars into that program since 1965. It does not work. Therefore, this proves that black folks are genetically inferior. This proves that black folks cannot be saved. We have no alternative now.

The cry for law and order, problems with the economy, I think that the talk about all of these things have bearing on people's perceptions relative to genocide, planned or otherwise.

RACISM

I think that the next thing that we are going to have to do is hold individuals responsible for racism. It is one thing to say that we have institutionalized racism in this country, but how do you accuse a school system of institutionalized racism? You have to put the blame on the superintendent. You have to assign the blame to a teacher—not teachers, but a teacher.

Let me go on to say that I think schools in urban communities in this country are doing their job. They are doing an excellent job of what they are designed to do. They are designed to transmit a cultural heritage of racism; they are designed to deliberately destroy children. It is no accident. I think it is impossible for learned people, administrators with Ph D.'s, the teachers that have gone through many years of methods, courses, et cetera; I think it impossible for them to do the putrid job that they are doing if, in fact, they are not doing it by design.

I think that one of the reasons for this is that if black children were able to compete on an equal level with white children, then they would also be able to compete on the job market. It is no accident that all the poor supplies are in the black school; it is no accident that teachers are tremendously frustrated in the black schools. I think that it happens deliberately and I think that the whole business of institutionalized racism has to be attacked, not only on a collective basis, but also on an individual basis.

Let me give you some examples of what black and other oppressed children have to go through in their daily lives in school. Just take the dictionary: 134 synonyms for the word "black" and 75 percent of those have negative conotations. Black—ugly, filthy, unclean; you blackball somebody, black market, blacklist; angelfood cake is white and devilfood cake is black. What does that do to a child who is confronted with an English dictionary every day of his life? It automatically destroys his creativity, and his image of himself. I think we are going to have to develop very positive images in terms of black children's perception of themselves, and I think we are also going to have to develop very positive images in terms of black communities' perceptions of themselves.

Let me give you an example of what I am talking about. When I first started in 1962 at Irving Elementary School, I was teaching language arts. I had three sections: 7A, 7B, 7C. I noticed that the kids in 7A did their work; the kids in 7B were a little more lackadaisical, and the kids in 7C said: Hey, man, we aren't supposed to do anything. We are supposed to be dumb. We have been in this class since the fourth grade."

WORKING WITH SELF-IMAGE

There is really no difference in the level of intelligence of the kid in the fast class and the kid in the slow class. I think that before we start talking about reading, writing, and arithmetic, we are going to have to deal with the child's self-image. It does no good to teach a child reading, writing and arithmetic if you do not teach him his value as a person. You have got to teach him to love and respect himself. Remember, this institutionalized racist society has told that child over and over again that he is nothing. Therefore, what we have to do is to develop strategies to tell him over and over again that he is beautiful, that he can do anything he makes up his mind to do.

I started using the PA system at MacFarlane because one day I talked to two kids and said: "Look, you are some really beautiful kids. You can do anything you make up your minds to do."

When they went into the class, they were surrounded by a lot of people who did not feel good about themselves and teachers who felt bad about themselves. I started using the PA system. Every morning, I told 1,266 kids:

> You are beautiful. You can do anything you make up your minds to do. You can walk quietly. We want you to keep your community clean. Your teacher is beautiful. Your teacher loves you too.

We did not have to do 3 years of research for this, but when we started to tell these kids that we loved them, trusted them and respected them we got very positive results, not only in terms of their behavior, but also in terms of their achievement, and this is documented in the MacFarlane Study, if you would like to include the MacFarlane Study on the record.

Senator MONDALE. We will put that in the record at the conclusion of your statement.

Dr. THOMAS. Not only do you have to increase children's value of their perception of how they feel, but you also have to do the same thing for their parents. I am extremely honored to be able to sit with Don Smith and Bernard Watson, and to follow such beautiful people and dedicated fighters for black liberation as Kenneth Haskin, Barbara Sizemore, and Dr. Charles Smith.

Let me say this about the community. Just as children have been destroyed psychologically, adults have been destroyed psychologically also, so you have to do the same positive thing in terms of adults that you do with children, and we did this in the form of developing community school councils and letting those parents know that they were very beautiful. I got an F and a D in Latin at Shoemaker Junior High School in Philadelphia, but I remember Repetitio est mater studiorum—repetition is the mother of study. So you have to say over and over again that you are beautiful, that you can do anything that you make up your mind to do, that you can control your own destiny, because when you start letting people think that they can affect their own lives, that they have some control over what happens to them, then they start learning more and developing a very positive attitude. I agree with Coleman on the business of fate control. If a person feels that he has some control over his destiny, then he will do a much more effective job.

Let me remind you that Thomas Pettigrew, the white social psychologist—and I am sure he knows what he is talking about because he teaches at Harvard—says that half of the black people in this country are under 22 years of age. They have not learned how to shuffle or walk through back doors or scratch their heads. They are men and women, real men when they are 11, 12, 13, and 14 years old, and that has implications for how you treat them in the future; that has implications for cities being tinderboxes, et cetera.

ACCOUNTABILITY

I think we are going to have to institute various methods of accountability. I think you can deal with it very basically. A child should know more at 3 o'clock in the afternoon than he knew at 8 o'clock in the morning. No matter how bad his home conditions are—he should knew more at 3 o'clock in the afternoon than he did at 8 o'clock in the morning. He should know more in June than he knew the preceding September, and he should certainly know more in 1971 than he did in 1967. I think that the critical thing has got to be that we have to stop assigning blame to the child. There is nothing wrong with the child. The child is culturally deprived; the child is culturally disadvantaged. When we do that, we are merely stereotyping a child; we are not blaming the institution. I am saying there is something wrong with the school, not the child.

Jean and Edgar Cahn, my attorneys, who direct the Urban Law Institute and the Citizen's Advocate Center, in their Yale Law Review article, May 1970, talked about the presumption of educability, which means we have got to start assuming that the school is at fault and we have got to start holding the school accountable and stop finding so many excuses about what is wrong with the child.

Mario Fantini, in a Social Policy article, November 1970, dealing with the educational agenda for the 1970's and beyond, the public schools of choice, makes the same observation. He says we have got to stop assuming that the child is bad and we have got to start assuming that the institution is bad because the institution has a very putrid record and the child has not had the first opportunity. Mario Fantini deals with three basic areas of reform, and I agree with these areas of reform. There has to be a whole change in governance. Parents and students have to be part of the decisionmaking process at all levels, not just the local level, but at the State and Federal level.

CURRICULUM

Substance. We have got to humanize the curriculum. I agree with Dr. Watson, this business about Christopher Columbus discovering the New World. If I tell my kids in class to buy a plane ticket to go to California and they end up in Florida, that would not be smart. It would be like Christopher Columbus starting out for India and ending up off the coast of South America, so he was stupid in my estimation. When I say that, my kids perk up and they say: "Hey, man, that cat wasn't too heavy after all, was he?" You see what I mean? But that is important. You have got to be able to deal with the reality in terms of those kids' lives.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR WORKING

The whole business of personnel: We have got to stop assuming that you have to have some certificate from somebody in Columbus, Ohio, or some other State capital to be able to affect positively the learning of children. Let me give you an example of a program that I developed in Dayton with the help of the community. I took 10 veterans of the Vietnam war and I put them in a class with second grade teachers and they were teachers' aides. While they were working as teachers' aides, they were also moving toward B.S. degrees in education at Central State University in Wilberforce, Ohio, and the result of that was that they provided a male image for the children, but they also radicalized 40- and 50-year-old teachers, and also provided a very, very different atmosphere in that school.

A lot of people talk about the fact that you should be certified. I believe, Senator, that there are many schools in this country where children do not learn one thing from September to June. I figure that if you could take an illiterate person and teach that illiterate person how to spell cat—c-a-t—and if all that person has got to do every day is say c-a-t spells cat, at the end of the day, if three children know that c-a-t spells cat we know we have achieved something. Today we cannot document that three children can spell cat in many school systems that I know about.

He also deals—and I agree with him—with the idea of the panacea. Let me say there is no clear-cut answer to this. There are no panaceas relative to education. We have got to try a lot of different things. Alternative schools, I agree with. I do not see anything wrong with the voucher plan as long as you are going to put the money in the hands of the parents and the students and let them have their own voucher schools. I do not see anything wrong with performance contracts as long as big business does not get all the contracts—or vocational process schools or technical computer center schools or traditional schools for those people that want them. I do not see anything wrong with Montesorri schools for those people that want them, and I do not see anything wrong with multicultural schools for those people that want them.

Frank Riessman pointed out that in a study by the American Institute for Research it was shown that of 1,000 programs operated by the Office of Education, only 23 of those programs were programs that showed any noticeable gain in achievement. Out of the 23 programs, all 23 were programs where children were teaching each other or where parents were teaching children.

What this means to me is that with 80 percent of the school budgets in this country going into salaries, and the quickest route to getting out of poverty being money, perhaps we should pay children to teach other children and pay welfare mothers and other poor people to teach their children.

I could go on with many things, but I want to try to bring this presentation to a halt. I think that school systems are going to have to be charged with fraud. It is fraud to give a child a high school diploma and say he is a high school graduate if, in fact, he reads at the eighth grade level. It is against the Constitution of the United States to hold a person in jail unless he has committed a crime. When you put a child in a school from 8 o'clock in the morning to 3 o'clock in the afternoon and he is not learning anything, he is not in school—he is in jail.

ISSUE OF FRAUD

I think that some brilliant legal service lawyers are going to have to deal with the whole question of charging school systems with exercising monopolies and suing them. I know that it is legal and complicated, but it can be done and it has to be done. Ken Haskins has an excellent remedy for suspension. When a child at Adams Morgan was sent to Ken Haskins for being bad, Ken would suspend the teacher and tell her she could not come back until such time as she could deal with the child. If a 14-year-old can maneuver a teacher into a position where he cannot deal with him, then it is he, the child, who should be the teacher and the teacher should be the student.

The State of Ohio has a law that if you expell a child, the child is really entitled to a hearing before the board of education. What we did, throughout student rights center, was ask for a hearing, because a hearing had never been asked for before. After asking for that hearing, the school board said: "Look, assistant superintendent in charge of student affairs, we do not want to have all these executive sessions over some child being expelled, so revise your expulsion policy."

COUNSELING

Moving rapidly, I think that there are a couple of critical areas. One is counseling. We have got to find a way to hold counselors accountable because counselors also automatically destroy a child's chances simply by telling him he is too dumb for the college prep course. There are no general jobs advertised in the classified ads, and therefore there should be, in my estimation, no general course.

I have outlined in my testimony what students should be prepared for in terms of the future. I think that we have to deal very forcefully with holding student factfinding commissions, not only holding the commissions, but holding school systems accountable for following through on the ideas projected by students.

The next recommendation deals with students in decisionmaking. I want to say this very clearly. I think that boards of education throughout this country should be reformed, in that there should be young people from 7 to 21 years old placed on those boards. This is documented by Margaret Mead in her book, "Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap," where she talks about the prefigurative culture. Moving fast, I will just define the prefigurative culture. We are moving into a culture where students know more about how to survive and operate in an urban setting than we do. With the advent of the media, et cetera, we have a lot of very brilliant 7- and 9-year-olds, and there is no reason why they should not be given the right to vote. Rather than have a child learn about George Washington and the Delaware, it might be more germane to have the child learning about laws regarding social security, the blind, welfare rights, et cetera.

BOND BETWEEN POOR WHITES AND BLACKS

I want to deal with this area very specifically also. There has to be some kind of cooperation and understanding between poor white and poor black students. I think that if there is racial violence in this country, initially it would not be between middle-class black and middle-class white people; it would be between poor white people and poor black people, and they are both oppressed in many of the same ways.

I have been through an experience where I had to rescue some black children from a white Appalachian school. One strategy would be to be angry with poor white folks for the rest of my life, but another strategy would be to understand that they are oppressed in many of the same ways black people are oppressed. In many ways they are victims of the news media and victims of the powerful and the rich. I am not saying that they have to love each other, but I am saying they have to get together on things that they agree on to prevent potential genocide of both. I think that that can be done, not by what some expert says, but that can be done by giving them power and giving them some money and letting them make their own decision in terms of how they can relate together and how they can live together. Integration in reverse, Senator.

I think you have got to understand what all these different bills and rules and regulations are doing to the people. In 1954, black people were saying: "We want to integrate; we want to sit down next to white people." Malcolm X said that to sit down next to a white man on a toilet in Mississippi is really not revolutionary, but the point is that during the fifties everybody did move toward integration. The white people said: "We don't want to be bothered with you." After that, black people said: "OK, we are not going to be a part of the melting pot. We will go for setting up our own community, trying to make our own community good we will develop our own black studies program." Then the white people said: "We insist upon integration."

This is very confusing to the community. If you decide upon integration or nationalism, you have to make that clear. I can understand a black integrationist. He has fought all his life for integration. For integration not to work is, for his life to have been a failure. I also understand the young black nationalist who says: "I am not going to beg white people to sit down next to them." It is just as racist to tell a black child that he is not a human being unless he can sit down next to a white child.

I am saying that if you are going to have meaningful integration, you have got to place all of the good resources right there in that black school, in that black community. I cannot call that white man a racist because he does not want his child to go to a poor school. I can call him a racist if you have got the best possible school in the world in the black community and he does not want his child to go there.

There are a lot more things I could deal with, but I think at this point I would like to pause so that Dr. Smith can testify.

STUDENT RIGHTS CENTER

Senator MONDALE. I want to ask one question and then we will turn over to Dr. Smith, then I will ask questions of both of you. What is the Student Rights Center?

Dr. THOMAS. The Student Rights Center is an OEO legal services, research and demonstration program, and it is funded for the purpose of developing innovative strategies relative to student rights and responsibilities. My attorneys, Jean and Edgar Cahn, were very instrumental in its formation along with Mickey Kantor and Terry Lenzner. What we want to do is show that children can have some control of their fate. Jean and Edgar pointed out very beautifully, in their article "Power to the People or the Profession?—The Public Interest in Public Law" that all these laws and regulations do not mean very much if people, in fact, do not know how they affect them.

What we are trying to do is take the power of the law and let children see that they can have some say in what happens to them. We are starting law suits. We also have 10 part-time parent ombudsmen who go with the children when they are suspended. The ombudsmen also try to educate the community about what students' rights are. Since this is the age of law and order, we are trying to teach kids how to use law and order for their own protection. Is that clear enough?

Senator **Mondale**. Is the Student Center for all students, white and black?

Dr. **Thomas**. Yes, sir; because all students are oppressed. We have an integrated staff. Our staff attorney is a white man from Cincinnati, who is a former captain in the Army, who just got back from Vietnam.

Let me tell you what else I have noticed. If a poor white parent has a child mistreated in the school, that poor white parent does not object to coming over to our black community and using the resources of that center. I am saying that it is more than a question of racism in this country. It is a question of oppression. Racism is a very important part of oppression, but children are oppressed—rich children, white children, black children. I think that if some kids came down from Mars they would be oppressed also. Green children would be oppressed in this country.

What I am saying is yes, the center serves everybody, not only poor white people, but also the outlying rich white communities, because those kids are jeopardized in many ways relative to student rights. I think this is one of the most meaningful answers in a country that is founded on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, in a country where these kids have had to memorize the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence: and if you can really make that meaningful and if you can remove the double standard that exists, I think there is a real good opportunity for really moving this country toward what Reich calls the Greening of America. Another aspect of it is that we are going to end up either through a Greening of America process or through Sam Yette's *The Choice*, and I think we are heading more toward Sam Yette's *The Choice*, meaning the systematic genocide of black folks than we are toward the Greening of America, where people learn to love and trust and respect each other. Did I answer your question sufficiently enough?

Senator **Mondale**. Yes, sir.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF ARTHUR E. THOMAS

TEN SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS TO CREATE EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

> You cannot outlaw one part of the people without endangering the rights and liberties of all people. You cannot put a chain on the ankles of bondmen without finding the other end of it about your own neck.
>
> You degrade us and then ask why we are degraded. You shut our mouths and then ask why we don't speak. You close your colleges and seminaries against us, and then ask why we don't know more.
>
> If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet depreciate agitation are men who want crops without plowing up

the ground. They want the rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did and it never will.

Men may not get all they pay for in this world, but they must certainly pay for all they get. If we ever get free from oppression and wrongs heaped upon us, we must pay for their removal. We must do this by labor, by suffering, by sacrifice, and if need be, by our lives, and the lives of others.

Experience proves that those are most often abused who can be abused with the greatest impunity. Men are whipped most often who are whipped easiest.

I esteem myself a good, persistent hater of injustice and oppression, but my resentment ceases when they cease, and I have no heart to visit upon children the sins of their fathers.

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

INTRODUCTION

I'd like to thank you for the opportunity to testify before this Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity this morning. It is an extreme honor for me to be able to sit with such distinguished scholars and fighters for Black liberation as Dr. Donald H. Smith and Dr. Bernard Watson, and to be able to participate in an educational forum that has included such dynamic, dedicated and brilliant scholars as Mr. Kenneth Haskins and Mrs. Barbara Sizemore. I am especially appreciative of the fact that you chose to solicit the opinions, ideas and strategies of these Black educators as well as the opinions and strategies of other educators. This is particularly meaningful to me in that you are dealing with national issues that do not just concern Black people. It is becoming increasingly clear to me that to solve the problems of minorities and the oppressed is the quickest route to solving the problem of our potentially great nation. Let me add that especially because of the increasingly repressive attitudes and actions relative to freedom of expression and other constitutional guarantees, I would like to state to you very clearly and specifically that I love America. I believe in the principles of democracy and the words imbedded in our Constitution and in our Declaration of Independence. I sincerely believe that if those documents could be fully enacted, and that if every individual regardless of race, age, creed, color or sex could equally share in the provisions, guarantees and protections contained in those documents, then indeed 99% of the battle would be over. To put it another way, paraphrasing a James Baldwin statement: "I love America more than any other country in the world, and, exactly for this reason, I insist on the right to criticize her perpetually."

Before I get to the specific recommendations that I would like to present to this committee, let me say that it is extremely important that if any legislation is forthcoming from the findings of this committee, that you members of the committee follow up closely to make absolutely sure that the legislation is written and enacted as you intend it to be.

All of the recommendations that I make to you today, in my opinion, are dependent upon the redistribution of power in this country. This must occur before any equality of opportunity in education or other areas can occur. Margaret Mead states this very well when she says that:

"Those who have no power also have no routes to power except through those against whom they are rebelling. In the end, it was men who gave the vote to women; and it will be the House of Lords that votes to abolish the House, and those over eighteen must agree if those under eighteen are to vote, as also in the final analysis, nations will act to limit national sovereignty. Effective, rapid evolutionary change, in which no one is guillotined and no one is forced into exile, depends on the cooperation of a large number of those in power with the dispossessed who are seeking power. The innovating idea may come from others, but the initiative for successful action must come from those whose privileges, now regarded as obsolete, are about to be abolished."

Dr. Alvin Poussaint, a Black psychiatrist from Harvard University School of Medicine says that: "Local officials fight community control of schools, because they choose to jealousy guard their jobs and power at the expense of the life chances of Black children."

McGeorge Bundy has said that: "People who have power don't have to give it up. But they must share it. It is one of the most important issues of these times . . ."

Thus, it is with this major factor in mind, the redistribution of power, that I ask you to view the following recommendations:

1. Effectively communicate to Black and other oppressed minorities of this country that there is not a plan of genocide to systematically destroy them.
2. Hold individuals responsible for racism within the educational system accountable for their actions by initiating criminal court actions or through paralegal avenues of arbitration.
3. Initiate positive programs dealing with self-image similar to the MacFarlane Elementary School program and Community School Council program in Dayton, Ohio.
4. Institute methods of accountability for administrators and teachers in public schools via the courts, voucher systems, performance contracting, etc.
5. Reform the decision-making bodies of public education to include students with full rights and responsibilities.
6. Institute student fact-finding commissions to deal with racial issues, discipline, curriculum, guidance and all other areas of public education.
7. Federally fund student groups to initiate their own programs relative to rights and responsibilities.
8. Federally fund the establishment of coalitions between so-called Black militant students and poor white students.
9. Establish programs of integration in reverse.
10. Federally fund cable TV networks throughout the country to broadcast information regarding student rights, welfare rights and issues relative to the poor and oppressed sectors of society.

Let me expand on each of these recommendations.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER ONE: COUNTERACT THE IDEA OF GENOCIDE

Place this statement in the proper context, gentlemen, because I am dealing with a thing called perception. The important question to deal with at this point is not whether, in fact, the nation has set out to deliberately and systematically destroy the Black, poor and oppressed—the important question is that many people *believe this to be true.*

Therefore, if your committee is going to be successful in developing national programs to provide equal educational opportunity for all, you must first exercise and utilize the power of your office to effectively communicate in every way possible to the Black, poor and oppressed that they are not being systematically eliminated . . . that the question of genocide is not a reality. Not only must this be communicated, it must be proven.

In this country today, Black men who want to be men have few alternatives. We can go to Algiers, we can end up in jail, we can end up destroyed psychologically or physically if we stand up for our rights. In my own case, the Stivers High School incident documented in the book, *An Experiment in Community School Control: An Evaluation of the Dayton Experience*, speaks of a form of genocide a form that seeks to eliminate Black men from positions of power or potential power. As a result of incidents of this kind, young Black and other oppressed people are forced into despair. Many feel: "why learn and why study when in a few years I'm going to be destroyed anyway?"

There is a growing concern among Black educators and community leaders that, since there is no more cotton to pick and there are no more ditches to dig, Blacks as a people are no longer necessary to this country, especially in view of the population control themes being developed. Some believe that the billions of dollars being pumped into programs like the Title I Elementary and Secondary Education Act to provide funds for assistance to educationally disadvantaged children are merely being used to prove the genetic inferiority of Black children, as espoused by men like Jensen. The belief runs something like this: "You see, we have given billions and look, those children still cannot learn."

I am not saying that this is so, or that this country is deliberately setting out to destroy people—but, if *people believe that is what is happening then this perception must be dealt with* before we can even talk about equal opportunities of any kind. When a man is not sure that he is going to survive physicaly or psychologically, it does no good to talk of equal opportunities. Most of my work is done in a local community where I walk and talk with the people on the street—where I get the feelings and impressions of the people. Believe me, a growing number of students who I know you are genuinely concerned about have lost confidence in their government and see the institution called school as the enemy—as the thing that is out to get them rather than help them. out to destroy them rather than protect them. Thus I recommend that this perception of genocide be counteracted quickly and effectively at the highest levels in this country.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER TWO: INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR RACISM

The school's job has traditionally been to transmit the cultural heritage. The cultural heritage in this country, as defined by the Kerner commission, as defined by Pettigrew, Hauser, Wilcox and others, is a cultural heritage of racism—institutionalized racism. In my opinion, schools in urban communities in this country are doing their job. They are designed to dehumanize and psychologically destroy Black and minority children. It is impossible—impossible—impossible for educated administrators and teachers to do the poor job that they are doing in terms of administering knowledge to young people if they are not, in fact, doing it deliberately. William H. Grier, and Price M. Cobbs, authors of *Black Rage*, cite the following:

"One of the keystones in white America's justification of its exploitation of Black people is the assumption that Black men are stupid. It is assumed that they cannot learn as much as a White man and therefore cannot assume positions of power and responsibility . . . The rigid control of teachers, curriculum, and budget by generally small-minded government bodies again reflects the essential purpose of the schools—which is to serve the immediate economic ends of those who control them. Out of the same pragmatic thinking which produced the trade school and the commercial school has lately come the tracking program, a system for selecting one of several programs for students based on the child's performance and test results. These programs have operated to launch White children into college and to provide mindless 'busy work' for Black children until they are seventeen."

I challenge you to go to a school on the first day. Check out the kindergarteners and first graders. Despite home conditions, despite whether or not mother and father are together, despite whether the child is hungry or has slept the night before, or whether he is dirty or clean, poor or rich—he still comes to school on that first day with a look of joy and a feeling of hope. Check the same children out in November or December and you will find a different look and feeling and will find that it is the institution, the school, that is reinforcing the dehumanization that is started by society.

Take a look at the dictionary. In it there are 134 synonyms for Black and 75% of those have negative connotations. There are 75 synonyms for white with 75% of those having positive connotations. A teacher's racism doesn't stop at the school door, just like the judge's doesn't when he puts on a robe, or the lawyer's doesn't when he comes into court, or the doctor's doesn't when he treats patients. What I am saying is that Black and other minority children come to school ready and eager to learn, yet they continue to gradute from high schools throughout the country able to read only at an 8th grade level.

This doesn't happen because of genetic inferiority. It happens because if they were taught to read at the proper levels, they would be able to compete for the same jobs as White children. The poor conditions in terms of performance and services and supplies and material resoures exist in Black and other oppressed communities not by chance, but by design. I know you have heard these things repeated again and again. One thing that I learned at Shoemaker Junior High in Philadelphia where I received an F and D in Latin was the statement, "Repetitio est mater studiorium"—or Repetition is the mother of study. Hence, I think that those of us who are in constant contact with the people who are suffering in this country must repeat and repeat and repeat the essence of that suffering—institutionalized racism.

Let me then go on to say that one effective way to deal with this problem is to take those individuals responsible for the institutional racism of public schools to the courts where they will be held accountable for their policies. We do not need to look for scapegoats in the poor White communities or in the Black Panther Party. The policy makers and administrators of that policy must be held accountable.

Of course, lawyers cannot stand by to institute action every time a child or parent is humiliated by an administrator or official, nor everytime the taunting word 'boy' is flung in the face of a Black male student. Yet, it is just such grievances which ultimately have made tinderboxes of every major urban center. Dr. Edgar Cahn and Mrs. Jean Camper Cahn have said that this 'new sovereign immunity', the immunity of officials who administer major government grant programs, must be dealt with by the addition of a third dimension to the rule of law. The legal system will have to be expanded and restructured. There are a few scattered beginnings in developing new legal and para-legal institutions, but much more investment in experimentation is needed. Programs to provide mediation and arbitration, lay advocates within the school system, special juvenile courts run by juveniles, citizens' advice bureaus modeled after those in England, ombudsman offices where a public official serves as watchdog and investigator of official conduct, are all possibilities which may suit a particular community's needs.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER THREE: SELF-IMAGE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Listen to this poem by a beautiful Black woman named Miss Barbara Wright, and think of how the self-image of young Blacks today is rapidly changing from that view held by their fathers and grandfathers, mothers, and grandmothers.

"I am a Negro—and I am ashamed.
Chemicals in my hair to make it other than what it is,
Bleaches on my skin to make it more . . . non-black,
Cosmetics on my face to be like the 'other'.
Why must I try to be other than what I am?

"The French say they are French from France,
The Irish say they are Irish from Ireland,
The Italians say they are Italian from Italy,
And I say I am Negro—from where?
Is there a Negro land?

"The French, Irish, Italians all have a culture and heritage.
What is My land? Where are my people? My culture? My heritage?
I am a Negro—and I am ashamed.
Who GAVE me this name?
Slaves and dogs are named by their masters . . . Free men name themselves.
Must I be other than what I am?

"I am Black. This is a source of pride.
My hair is short and finely curled.
My skin is deep-hued, from brown to black.
My eyes are large, open to the world.
My lips are thick, giving resonance to my words.

"My nose is broad to breathe freely the air.
My heritage is my experience in America . . . although not of it;
Free from pretense; open to truth.
Seeking freedom that all life may be free.
I am Black. America has cause to be proud."

When I was assistant principal at MacFarlane Elementary School in Dayton, Ohio, I found that if you show children that you love them, trust them and respect them, they will respond with love, trust, and respect. If you believe in them, they will learn to believe in themselves. That general philosophy was the core of our entire experience at MacFarlane. Each morning I told our 1,266 children over the public address system that they were good, that they were beautiful, that knowledge was power and that they should constantly strive to be the best of whatever they were. While at MacFarlane and still today, my fervent mission was and is to teach Black children that they have a beautiful heritage of which they can be proud.

Until you teach a child that he is somebody, and until you get him to believe this, you're wasting your time trying to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic.

At MacFarlane, we invited many people to visit our school and talk to our teachers and observe our classrooms. We showed our teachers that their job was an important one and that we had confidence and trust in them also. Learning happened at MacFarlane. Across the board, improvement was noted in terms of motivation on the part of students, staff morale and a general improvement in behavior attributable to a humane and supportive discipline policy. The cornerstone upon which we constructed the entire program at MacFarlane elementary school was that of self-image. Self-image and the expectation that our children at MacFarlane would achieve and excel. As Kenneth Clark has stated:

"A normal child who is expected to learn, who is taught and who is required to learn will learn."

If a child believes that he is "somebody" and that he has some "fate control"—some control over his destiny as the Coleman study pointed out, then he will achieve. Our success at MacFarlane can be a model for schools in every city. Let me repeat: until you teach a child that he is somebody, and until you get him to believe this, I believe you are wasting your time trying to teach reading, writing and arithmetic.

The same kind of building of the community self-concept was instituted through the Dayton Model Cities Planning Council and the Dayton Community School Councils. Parents of children in Black schools also needed to feel that they had some control over the destiny of their children. We would consistently open our meetings of the school councils with the admonition to parents that they were very, very important and that they were very, very beautiful people who could accomplish whatever they set out to do. In response to questionnaires during the process of training, we received answers that reflected a growing self-awareness, a growing knowledge of the system and how to counteract its bad effects and how to systematically attempt to institute positive changes.

Consider this response from one participant:

"* * * community resources are the most valuable we can find if uncovered and tapped. I have learned where and who to go to for professional consulting. I have learned how to talk to great Black educators, where to find them, and most of all that they do exist and will help and guide us if we only ask."

Or this response:

"Yes, I learned who pushes the buttons and how the system has controlled and manipulated Black people. I had thought reading and writing were our most important objectives. Now I believe in the worth and development of the individual."

And still another:

"I have learned that strangers can come very close in working toward a common goal, and that Black people are very important people."

The Community School Council program can also be repeated effectively throughout the country. Programs such as the MacFarlane School model and the Community School Council as Jean and Edgar Cahn so aptly put it, can help to provide defensive and offensive weapons for the psychological well-being of Black and other minority students and parents. They can help the student and parent to deal more effectively with the environment, to sort out the real from fancied injuries, to honor obligations, and to hold peers and seniors to standards of conduct which are equitable and rooted in reasonable expectation. The successes in Dayton, Ohio point out that these are not just pie-in-the-sky dreams, but are realities and can be repeated again and again.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER FOUR: INSTITUTION OF EDUCATIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY

A child in school should know more at three o'clock in the afternoon than he knew at eight o'clock that morning. He should know more in June than he knew the previous September. And a child should certainly know more in 1971 than he knew in 1967. Measures for holding school administrators accountable should deal specifically with these questions: Does the student know more at 3:00 p.m. than he did at 8:00 a.m. that day? Does he know more in June than in the previous September? More in 1971 than in 1967?

The traditional attitude holds the child accountable for his progress or failure, without reference to the school's role in creating the child's success or failure.

In their *Yale Law Journal* study, "Power to the People or the Profession?—The Public Interest in Public Law", (*The Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 79, No. 6, May, 1970; pp. 1020–1021), attorneys Edgar and Jean Cahn explain that:

"* * * in the context of education * * * the question of whether effective legal advocacy combined with an independent grievance mechanism within the school system can shield a child from institutional practices which have long demonstrated their capacity to retard, discourage and destroy a child's sense of confidence and his capacity to perform. Thus, one formulation of the role of the law in education might be to protect the presumption of educability of a child, just as in the criminal law, it protects the presumption of innocence. In short, law might no longer permit the school system, like a prosecutor, to pronounce a verdict of guilty and a sentence of failure, retardation, or drop-out. Instead, the school system might be required to bear the burden of proof each step of the way, at each moment when it sits in judgment on a child's attitude or performance or capacity. In many, many schools, the burden of proof now rests with the minority group or low income child. It rests there wrongly. Effective legal advocacy within the school system should have the purpose of shifting that presumption—of compelling accountability, of forcing the educator and the educational system to shoulder the burden of proof rather than make the child the scapegoat for an institutional record of failure."

Mario Fantini, writing in the November-December, 1970 issue of *Social Policy*, agrees:

"The widely used terms 'culturally deprived' and 'culturally disadvantaged' implied that there was something wrong with the learner," Fantini says, "with his cultural environment not with the school and its educational process. In short, we assumed that the problem was with the student, not the school, with the client rather than the institution." ("Educational Agenda for the 1970's and Beyond: Public School of Choice", p. 25.)

Just like companies are inspired to produce a superior product because of the pressure from competitors, so schools and school administrators would be forced to improve by the presence of alternatives. Fantini cites three areas that need change:

"Governance—There must be a shift from professional dominance to a meaningful parental and community role in the educational process; Substance—We must modify the skill-performance standards by which educational quality is measured primarily so that a humanistically oriented curriculum can evolve; Personnel—The education system must be opened to a far broader base of talent than the conventionally prepared career educator." (pp. 26–27).

We must begin calling on our communities. Parents and students can govern their own schools at the local level. Parents and students must have direct and powerful input at all levels. How else can we achieve the humanization of curriculum?

Fantini talks about alternative schools as a future necessity. These alternatives will take the form of educational voucher schools, performance contract schools, traditional approach schools, vocational process schools, teacher as a facilitator schools, technical computer-centered schools, community schools, Montessori schools, and multicultural schools. I agree with Fantini that there is no panacea, no one solution for the varied problems that are becoming increasingly evident in the school systems of this country. We must try everything, and we must find a way to educate *all* students to the maximum of their potential. That way will be determined by the environmental forces that surround each particular student.

In a speech delivered at the Career Opportunities Conference in Denver (August 11, 1969), Frank Riessman stated: "A study conducted by the American Institute for Research for the U.S. Office of Education on all compensatory programs for the disadvantaged reported on between 1963 and 1968 found that of the 1,000 programs examined, only 23 were found to have yielded measured educational benefits of cognitive achievement." All 23 successful programs involved students tutoring students or parents working with students. In the programs that involved students tutoring students, the students doing the tutoring learned the most. We should take a closer look at this research and if, in fact, this research is valid, it has great implications for what will happen in the future. If parents and children are contributing more to education than teachers, when approximately 80 to 85 percent of all education budgets are used for salaries, and when the best route away from poverty is money, why not pay parents to teach their children, and children to teach each other? If the so-called experts are failing, isn't it time to try something else?

Because of my experiences as director of the Student Rights Center, I know it's time to try something else in the area of discipline in school. Since we opened our offices to the public in January, 60 per cent of our cases have been children suspended repeatedly from school without benefit of counseling, or even getting to tell their side of the story. Time and time again, children and their parents come into the Center to tell us that the child was accused of fighting or name-calling or a bad attitude and immediately suspended for 10 days. Often, after 10 days on the street, the child goes back, runs into the same teacher or administrator who doesn't like him, and gets suspended again. When the administrator is questioned about the amount of counseling the child received to help him with his problem, the answer is none or very little, and the excuse is the 400 to 1 student-counselor ratio. So the student is kicked out, made to feel inferior, never treated like a human being. Suppose a student could not be suspended except in criminal matters? Suppose the easy and cruel use of suspension was totally eliminated, and administrators were forced for the first time to see the 400 not as a number, but as 400 young people, each with his individual problems, people who had to be dealt with because the administrator could no longer just shove them out the door? And suppose suspension's equally vicious partner, corporal punishment, was outlawed? Could the experts then function as human beings? Or would it take parents and students to work with student problems? I am interested in finding out. The sequence of terrible counseling to misuse of suspension and expulsion to juvenile court is too well documented to continue in the 1970's. It is like an open sore right in front of everyone's eyes—isnt it time someone made a first step towards a healing process?

Let me give you a couple of specific cases we have dealt with at the Center to show you why I feel it is so important to make administrators accountable for the things they impose upon school children.

At Trotwood High School, a suburban school in the Dayton area, there was an Occupational Work Adjustment class in which students received academic instruction in the morning, and then worked in the afternoon. The program was funded by federal grants to the State of Ohio. Trotwood's program included 14, 15, and 16 year old children. These children, employed by the school, were entitled to the minimum wage under the law, which includes students as employees. Because the school administrators overloaded the program, they only paid the students 50 cents an hour. When one student's parents complained, the administrators decided to pay that one student the money owed him, but to classify the other students as psychotic, neurotic, and mentally retarded to avoid paying them the minimum wage retroactive to the time they started working.

Understand this now. An assistant superintendent, in the school system for years, asked the two teachers supervising this program to have the students sign their names on a blank piece of paper. Then the teachers were to write, randomly, psychotic, neurotic, or mentally retarded next to each student's name, without the student's knowledge, so that the school could avoid paying them the minimum wage. I know this sounds fantastic, but it is true.

The teachers refused to do this. They came to the Center and told our attorney what was going on. The government, already investigating the one student's complaint, was informed by our attorney that the school owed retroactive wages to all the other students in the program as well. The program was stopped, and the school administration was ordered to pay more than $10,000 in back wages.

In this case, the students were lucky that the teachers were concerned enough not to go along with an administrator's orders. Otherwise, the students would have been classified as neurotic, psychotic, and mentally retarded and would never have known it.

In another of our 125 cases this year, a high school junior with an IQ of 130 is reading at a fourth grade level because he was hyperkinetic (overly restless) as a child and was assigned to special education classes in the fifth grade. He is in with students of "sub-normal" intelligence. The school is making no effort to tutor him individually to help him read at his intelligence level. He excels in astronomy, designs his own telescopes, and wants desparately to go to college. His lack of reading ability, and the school's refusal to help him, are causing severe emotional problems. The school writes reports on his emotional problems, and keeps him in special education. We are currently preparing a lawsuit because it is the only way to get him the help he needs, to force the school to educate him.

The cases go on and on, full of the material that made Silberman's *Crisis in the Classroom* a bestseller. It's nice to write best sellers, and it's nice to identify problems, but what is anyone doing about the spectacular problems that are commonplace in every school system in the country?

The following sections of the Ohio Revised Code have never been used in the way which is proposed. Most states have similar laws which have never been applied to educators and the education system. Because of the novelty of the proposed use for these laws, it might be difficult for citizens to swear out warrants against educators, and for prosecutors to prosecute violations of these laws. The use of these laws may be a few years away. But citizens may have to resort to the criminal law, and use it in the way proposed here, to force constructive change in the education of our children.

ORC 2919.05—Embezzlement by Municipal and School Officers

"No member of the council of a municipal corporation, or an officer, agent, or employee of a municipal corporation, or board of education, shall knowingly divert, appropriate, or apply funds raised by taxation or otherwise, to any use or purpose other than that for which said funds were raised or appropriated, or knowingly divert, appropriate, or apply money borrowed, or a bond of the municipal corporation or part of the proceeds of such bond, to any use or purpose other than that for which such loan was made, or bond issued. Whoever violates this section shall be . . . imprisoned not less than one nor more than twenty-one years."

Boards of education receive public money to educate children. When children leave the school system after twelve years, unequipped to hold a job in our society, haven't the public monies been knowingly diverted "to any use or purpose other than that for which said funds were raised or appropriated"?

ORC 2919.05—Usurpation of Office

"No person in an office or place of authority without being lawfully authorized to do so, or by color of his office shall willfully oppress another under pretense of acting in his official capacity.

"Whoever violates this section shall be fined not more than three hundred dollars or imprisoned not more than twenty days, or both."

Teachers "under pretense of acting in his official capacity" mold children to conform to their model. What worse oppression could occur?

ORC 2912.12—Injuring or Defrauding Under Color of Office

"No sheriff, coroner, constable, jailer, clerk, county recorder, county auditor, county treasurer, or other ministerial officer, or a deputy or subordinate of such officer, by color of or in the execution of his office shall willfully injure, defraud, or oppress another or attempt to do so.

"Whoever violates this section shall be fined not more than two hundred dollars."

Boards of Education and educators willfully defraud parents when they say they are educating their children. Children are willfully oppressed by the educational system.

ORC 2911.41—Fraudulent Advertising

"No person shall directly or indirectly make, publish, disseminate, circulate, or place before the public, in this state, in a newspaper, magazine, or other publication, or in the form of a book, notice, handbill, poster, circular, pamphlet, letter, sign, placard, card, label, or over any radio station, or in any other way, an advertisement or announcement of any sort regarding mechandise, securities, service, employment, real estate, or anything of value offered by him for use, purchase, or sale and which advertisement or announcement contains any assertion, representation, or statement which is untrue, or fraudulent.

Whoever violates this section shall be fined not more than two hundred dollars or imprisoned not more than twenty days or both."

Are not boards of education and educators guilty of violations of this law? Is not every school tax levy campaign a violation? School people advertise education. Children and parents are consumers of education induced by false advertising.

ORC 2907.21—Larceny by Trick

"No person shall obtain possession of, or title to, anything of value without the consent of the person from whom he obtained it, provided he did not induce such consent by false or fraudulent representation, pretense, token, or writing.

"Whoever violates this section is guilty of larceny by trick, and, if the value of the thing so obtained is sixty dollars or more, shall be imprisoned not less than one nor more than seven years."

"School boards and administrators have been taking public money for years with public consent. Indeed, they ask for more and more money. The public consent is induced by representations made by administrators that children's education will improve, and the pretense that children learn in proportion to the dollars spent. These representations are false. The proof of their falsity is that high school diplomas are awarded to people who read and write at an eighth grade level.

ORC 2903.08—Torturing or Neglecting Children

"No person having the control of . . . a child under the age of sixteen years shall willfully . . . torture, torment, or cruelly or unlawfully punish him . . .

Whoever violates this section shall be fined no less than ten nor more than two hundred dollars or imprisoned not more than six months, or both."

School systems claim to have control of children during schools hours. Willful torture and torment occurs when children are harrassed and molded to conform to the system's model of the perfect student. To keep a child in school eight hours a day, listening to a teacher who says nothing relevant, is cruel punishment.

ORC Section 2901.12—Robbery

"No person by force or violence, or by putting in fear, shall steal from the person of another anything of value.

"Whoever violates this section is guilty of robbery, and shall be imprisoned not less than one nor more than twenty-five years."

Our system of education puts children in fear, and steals from them their desire to learn, their inquiring minds, and their individuality.

ORC 2921.1¼—Conspiracy to Defraud the State

"If two or more persons conspire to defraud this state, or any political subdivision thereof, in any manner, or for any purpose, and one or more of such parties do any act to effect the object of the conspiracy, each of the parties to such conspiracy shall be fined not more than five thousand dollars or imprisoned not more than two years, or both."

Aren't all the voters in a school district, or in the state, defrauded by the conspiracy of educators from the state level down. "Give us your money; we will teach your children" is a false statement, a fraud on the public.

One final word on accountability. Any development in terms of equal educational opportunity should deal with the reality of counseling and the reality of the general course. Counselors are among the greatest violators of the equal protection granted to all people under the United States Constitution. They can deprive children of this protection with one statement: "You are not smart enough to take the college preparatory course." When a counselor makes this statement, he often deprives the student he is talking to of a good job, good housing, good medical treatment, and a happy and healthy life in general. The student often ends up in the general course.

You take a student in an academic course and ask him what he wants to be. He'll say: a doctor, a lawyer, a teacher, etc. You ask a student in the business course what he wants to be and he'll tell you an office manager, a banker, a real estate man, a salesman, etc. You ask a student in the general course what he wants to be and he'll say, "I dunno."

I look in the classified want ads in the daily paper and I see ads for all kinds of jobs. But I don't see any ads for general jobs.

The general course is a combined concentration camp, babysitting service, and mental graveyard. It is excellent preparation for the future junkies of America, the future jobless of America, the future nothings.

Any serious consideration you may give to true equal educational opportunity must deal with developing curricula that would provide skilled craftsmen who can deal effectively in the following areas: oceanography, genetic research, atomic fusion, chemistry and biology, medicine, computer science, machine design, media, urban space planning, agronomy, economic planning, and political science as applies to design models for survival and the liberation of oppressed peoples.

A curriculum that cannot deal effectively with these areas is, in my opinion, obsolete. I sincerely believe that if youngsters learn the skills needed in these areas we can survive as a nation and make a contribution to world survival. We will have to redefine the schools and the new definition will have to encompass the entire community. The city, state, nation and world are the new learning laboratories, not merely one building in the city called a school. We need elementary and high schools where people who are expert in these areas teach. We must develop a womb to the tomb concept of learning.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER FIVE: STUDENT FACT FINDING COMMISSIONS

A series of national and local student fact finding commissions should be established. These student commissions would have access to lawyers and other research personnel. Potential areas for discussion and presentation of position papers could include the following topics: suspension and expulsion, freedom of expression (newspapers, assembly, the public address system), school security, guidance, and corporal punishment. The position papers would not be followed up by a lot of hot air. They should be considered quickly by school administrators and school boards, and then implemented quickly. This would give the student specific and powerful control over his own school life. The student would be deciding, through investigation, what the weaknesses are, and then instructing administrators to correct those weaknesses. The administrators would be obligated to follow student advice, rather than pay lip service to it or co-opt it or pat the students on the head and then ignore them.

In June, the Center held a three-day Student Board of Inquiry into High School Discipline. The hearings were conducted completely by students and were open to the public. Attendance was capacity, and the local media gave the three days of hearings major coverage. Ten students, five black and five white, representing a cross-section of Montgomery County, Ohio, heard witnesses testifying about various aspects of high school disciplinary procedures. Witnesses included administrators, teachers, students, police and school board members. Before the sessions, students were counseled in inquiry procedure and in Ohio state law concerning education by John Saunders of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, by two lawyers, and by University of Dayton teacher-education department faculty members.

Let me give you just one of many examples of how the information the students got from witnesses, widely publicized, woke a lot of people in Dayton up to what is going on in the schools.

Testifying on corporal punishment, a Kettering school district teacher named Edith Holsinger, cited examples of how punishment is used in the schools in which she had taught. She talked about children whose bottoms were beaten for chewing gum, throwing gum on the floor, throwing spitballs, dropping pieces of equipment in industrial arts classes, and consistently not paying attention. She cited instances in two different schools in which boys had had fistfuls of hair pulled out of their heads by angry teachers. She told of an incident in which a second grade girl was made to stand on her toes with her nose to the wall during recess because she forgot to bring in some papers signed by her parents. She concluded by asking: "If you cannot reach a child through his mind, how do you expect to reach him through his behind?"

Her evidence had tremendous impact in the community because she is a longtime teacher with an excellent reputation. The inquiry board students are now preparing a report on their findings. This report will be circulated by newspapers and television to a mass audience. The Dayton School Board is publicly obligated to take the inquiry board students seriously and to honestly consider their findings and suggestions.

You can see how dramatic and effective this method is. Who knows more about classroom injustice than its victims? This is a whole new way of investigating schools. Implemented on a national level, with student inquiry boards meeting regularly on topics of concern, you can imagine the positive changes that could result. I ask you to consider this idea strongly.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER SIX: STUDENT DECISION MAKING

Students must be a part of the decision-making process relative to any and all school community matters. Let me compliment the Congress on extending the vote to 18 year olds. Let me remind you, however, that with the knowledge explosion we have today, with mass media conveying information daily that was never accessible to the general population before, we have a lot of brilliant seven and eight and nine year olds in this country, too. We all know that man, by nature, is gregarious. He has to be loved, trusted, and respected in order to survive. He also has to feel a part of things in order to contribute. I am sure that many of you have had the experience of forgetting to include your colleagues in the plans for a project and of losing their support when the project came up for a vote.

Young people are asking to be listened to, to be made a part of the things that affect their daily lives. Therefore, I propose that you gentlemen exercise the powers of your office, and the tremendous influence that you have at the state and federal levels, to make it possible for school boards throughout this nation to be expanded by at least four members, that those new members be between the ages of 7 and 21, and that they be entitled to all of the privileges and responsibilities accorded school board members, that they share equally in the decision-making.

Perhaps this sounds a bit wild to you. Let me tell you that right now, in Dayton, Ohio, for the first time in the area's history, no less than four students, 17 and 18 years old, are filing petitions to be on the school board ballot next fall. At first, some people were shocked and some were amused. Then, these young people began getting the required number of signatures, and began talking about their ideas. Their maturity surprised a lot of people. I hope that some or all of them are elected. I think that their behavior in office will surprise people even more.

In her book, ***Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap***, Margaret Mead talks about something that is very important to me, and very basic to the ideas I am advocating to you.

"The distinctions I am making," she writes, "among three different kinds of culture—*postfigurative*, in which children learn primarily from their forebearers, *cofigurative*, in which both children and adults learn from their peers, and *prefigurative*, in which adults learn also from their children—are a reflection of the period in which we live. Primitive societies and small religious and ideological enclaves are primarily postfigurative, deriving authority from the past. Great civilizations, which necessarily have developed techniques for incorporating change, characteristically make use of some form of cofigurative learning from peers, playmates, fellow students, and fellow apprentices. We are now entering a period, new in history, in which the young are taking on a new authority in their prefigurative apprehension of the still unknown future." (p. 1)

She goes on to say that:

"The children, the young, must ask the questions that we would never think to ask, but enough trust must be re-established so that the elders will be permitted to work with them on the answers. As in a new country with makeshift shelters that they are cold and where the drafts are coming from . . ." (p. 74)
adapted hastily from out-of-date models, the children must be able to proclaim

The current educational system we have in this country is the draftiest thing since haunted houses. We must not only listen to our children, we must also give them the power to help themselves and, by doing so, to help us all.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER SEVEN: DIRECT FEDERAL FUNDING TO STUDENTS

In line with what I have said above, I feel it is imperative to quickly begin federal funding of programs created by and administered by and for students. I cannot think of any area of American life—be it schools, welfare rights, housing, the problems of the old, the problems of the physically handicapped, etc.—where students could not do as good or a better job than adults. Think of a Head Start-type program completely staffed and run by students—older students teaching younger students, getting them ready for school or helping them read at the proper grade level, and helping them develop and maintain positive self images. Think of a federally-funded student board of inquiry. Think of student-run recreation programs. Think of student-run Vista-type and Peace Corps-type programs. Think of students helping the aged and the handicapped. Think of the ability of American Indian students to run their own federally funded programs dealing with American Indian self-improvement. Think of the same thing for Black students, Puerto Rican students, Mexican-American students. You can go down the list of federally funded programs currently operating in this country and hardly find a one that responsible students are not capable of directing and implementing. In West Dayton, the Black side of town where I work, I am in close touch with the Model Cities and Community School Council programs. I cannot think of a single federally funded program in Dayton that students could not run and be totally responsible for. I want you to consider seriously, when you are talking about equal educational opportunity, the very realistic possibility of directly funding students for programs that will help other students. The students I have worked with are fully capable of everything from original proposals to full implementation of those plans. I hope you will give some real thought to this idea.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER EIGHT: BLACK AND WHITE STUDENT COALITION

I have seen at first hand how ugly and destructive things can be when White and Black young people cannot get together to solve a serious problem. On September 8, 1969, 100 Black students entered an all-white, mostly Appalachian high school in Dayton called Stivers. The downtown school administration in Dayton had decided to integrate Stivers without any preparation for either the White or Black students or the families involved. So, naturally, Black and White students got into a bloody fight during the first day of school.

Harold Tucker, one of the 100 Black students, was hit in the head with either a crowbar or a tire iron. That night, the parents complained at a Model Cities Planning Council meeting and asked that something be done about Stivers. We all looked at the bandages and stitches on young Tucker's head. The militant brothers were ready to "take care of business."

Our chairman told everyone to be cool. Then he told Mr. Ed Campbell, chairman of the Education Committee, and me, as director of the Educational Component, to go to Stivers the next day.

We did. We were greeted by angry white folks and cruising cars. We helped the frightened principal and his staff keep order for three hours. There were 42 Black students there. They were angry. Some had weapons. I told them to be cool and trust me. Most of them had known me for years. I had been to their homes, and they trusted me.

After three hours of waiting for a bus to take the Black kids out of there, I walked the students to the Board of Education building. I was instructed by Model Cities to go back to Stivers and take more students out of there. When I returned to Stivers, I was arrested. After two months of hearings, I was fired by the School Board for "exceeding my authority." The Board felt that by removing Black students from an explosive situation I had exceeded my authority.

Now one of the many things I learned from that nightmarish situation was that a great emphasis must immediately be placed on the problem of developing positive relations between poor Black and poor White people. Racial violence in this country will not, in my opinion, initially occur between middle class Black and White people. It will occur between poor white and poor Black people because these groups are victims, in many respects, of the same types of oppression.

Forced to dislike, distrust, and misunderstand each other, they are bound to be the ones who end up fighting each other. Therefore, it is imperative that programs to bring them together be provided if we are to avoid potential genocide of poor Blacks and poor Whites in this country. Through these programs, poor Blacks and poor Whites could understand each other's culture and each other's problems.

You won't necessarily teach them to love one another. But at least they can be made to understand that one group's survival is dependent upon the other's. With this understanding, with the emotionalism removed from mutual problems, poor Blacks and poor Whites can together attack the problems perpetuated by the rick and powerful and sustained by institutionalized racism.

As a Black man, I have been victimized by stereotypes—Black people are dumb, all Black people steal, Black people are crazy, etc. I now see that the same things occur for poor whites. It is wrong, and grossly unfair, on the part of middle class Blacks and Whites to arbitrarily state that poor Whites are racists because the Whites do not want their children to go to school in a Black community—when that Black school is, in fact, an inferior school.

I cannot call a man prejudiced because he does not want his child to go to a school that is putrid. I cannot call a man prejudiced when he wants his child to go to a school nearest him. Black people want their kids to go to neighborhood schools, too.

Frederick Douglass once said:

"I esteem myself a good, persistent hater of injustice and oppression, but my resentment ceases when they cease, and I have no heart to visit upon children the sins of their fathers."

I do not have a clearcut answer to deal with the question of how to prevent young Blacks and young Whites from destroying each other because of the sins of their fathers. At our Student Rights Center in Dayton, we plan to start, in September, a series of regular rap sessions between so-called very militant Black brothers and so-called very conservative young Whites. Many eminent psychiatrists and psychologists are saying that if communication lines can be opened between these two groups, great possibilities for understanding exist.

Let me be very clear in stating that there is a need for Black folks to be together on certain issues with no one else around. I mean Black folks getting together among themselves. The same is true for White folks.

Let me also be very clear in stating that it is also imperative for the two groups to develop an understanding that will prevent them from physically destroying each other. One example of what I'm saying is now taking place in Dayton, in a slightly different context. Rival gangs have recently been brought together by Black officers in the Dayton police Department's Conflict Management Team. These gangs, once bitter enemies, are no longer fighting each other. They are working together to improve the community. So, you see, it can be done.

The research in the second half of this report, which you have before you, talks about the impact of the 1964 civil rights decision. Although it left much to be desired, the decision kindled, in many different groups of people, a desire to be free and to share in all the good things this country can provide.

The civil rights movement that started with Black folks wanting to be free had the same impact on Mexican-Americans. Now Mexican-Americans are demanding to be free. And American Indians. And Puerto Ricans. And women. And—very importantly—students. Young people. Students now want to be free, to enjoy their human rights. Students are now demanding to be free.

What was started on paper is now in the hearts and souls of men and can't be stopped. If, by some miracle, Black people achieve equal educational opportunity, or equal opportunity in general, and poor Whites, Indians, Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans are still suffering, then we would have merely exchanged one oppressed group for another. Somehow, we must develop a strategy for freeing all oppressed groups in this country so that we don't have to worry about one group destroying another.

Lines of communication between oppressed groups must be established if these groups are to survive. School is a potential vehicle for this communication to occur. But, if it is to occur, this communication must be on the terms of poor Whites and Blacks, not on the terms of administrators, or congressmen or senators or educators.

Those people responsible for living out the experience should be responsible for determining how the experience should occur.

Going back to the Stivers incident I described earlier, I am convinced that if poor Whites and Blacks in Dayton had been consulted about the new situation that would throw them together in school for the first time in their lives, if they had been allowed to prepare together for the experience, the results of that first day in school would not have been violence and anger.

We must stop dealing out of administrative convenience. In situations involving the integration of the races, we should start dealing forthrightly out of the concerns and feelings of the people involved. No matter how many degrees or how much administrative experience the so-called experts have, the real experts are the people who know their own fears, and who will have to live with the new situation.

Having dealt with young people and their parents all of my adult life as an educator, I am convinced that, given the chance, they can come from drastically different backgrounds and work something livable out. But when are they given a chance to do this? Since it is obvious that the Divine Right of Kings power theories do not work, succeed only in pushing people further apart and making them violent and destructive, it is time, on a mass, national basis, to let oppressed people have the power to determine their own fate. I believe that young White Appalachians and young Blacks can accomplish more good together than any administrator or so-called expert, no matter how well-intentioned. Perhaps you will agree with me that this is the decade to try this on a mass scale, and see if we can come up with something better than the violent failure that the expert educators have handed us in our schools.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER NINE: INTEGRATION IN REVERSE

As I have stated previously, I cannot blame a white person for not wanting to send his child to an inferior school in the Black community. Consider the word "integration". What does this word mean to you? If integration is merely the placing of warm Black bodies next to warm White bodies, it is irrelevant to my life and to the lives of my Black brothers and sisters. My recommendation is to follow the suggestions in this presentation. I believe that, by following these suggestions, Black students and parents and teachers working together will make Black schools among the best, rather than the worst, schools in each city. If, in a given city, a Black school had the best facilities, the best staff, the best textbooks, the best supplies, the best equipment—the very best of everything available—then integration would be meaningful. It would be, for the first time in history, a two way street. As it is now, the typical situation is the

Black child supposedly improving himself by association with Whites and White educational institutions. But if the reverse were also true, a whole new world opens up, a world of creative exchange between equals in *fact*, not in theory or dreams.

RECOMMENDATION NUMBER TEN: STUDENT-CONTROLLED CABLE TV

The attorneys Edgar and Jean Cahn, in their aforementioned *Yale Law Journal* article "Power to the People or the Profession?—The Public Interest in Public Law", talk about a revolutionary use of cable television. They write that a "largely unexplored area for the creation of new 'legal' institutions is the potential provided by the mass media for informing people of their rights, bringing community disapproval to bear upon particular actions or particular officials, and generating support for norms eliminating the status of permissable behavior in a society where the 'legal norms' on paper may have little reality or authority in the community. Cable TV and community owned and operated radio stations in particular have substantial potential for creating new, legitimated forums for community debate . . ."

Thomas Jefferson said that when the masses were educated, tyranny and oppression would disappear. Lack of access to information is the greatest cause of discrimination and mistreatment. If you don't know what your rights are, how are you going to know when someone is violating them? And if you know someone is taking advantage of you, but he seems all powerful and you don't know how to defend yourself, you will get messed over.

How can student-run cable TV programs affect the quality of life in school and contribute to equal educational opportunity? Let me give you an example. Suppose students made the following tape and broadcast it via TV to thousands of their fellow students. A seven year old comes into the Student Rights Center and says, "I'm tired of that teacher yelling at me. Next time she does it, I'm going to tear her up." A Center staff member instructs the child. "Listen. The next time that teacher is mean to you, be cool. Just sit there in the classroom and don't say anything for 20 minutes. Then, when you are completely calm and in control, raise your hand. When she calls on you, tell her coolly and calmly, "Mrs. X, what you did a few minutes ago, the way you talked to me, has psychologically dehumanized me, has made me feel like an animal, like a stupid animal. If that happens often enough, a child like me grows up thinking of himself as stupid and ugly and he can never function as a human being again. So unless you refrain from treating me in such a manner, I may have no alternative but to take you to the U. S. District Court and explain all this to the judge. And let me remind you, Mrs. X, that there is a good possibility that I can win a $100,000 damage suit against you if I charge you with "psychological tort."

Imagine what an impact we could have on teacher attitudes if young people learned to protect themselves in this way. By using cable TV, students can teach each other how to survive in school. The media is quick, mass-oriented, and convincing. It is a powerful teaching tool. Imagine programs on what to do about a guidance counselor who refuses to help you get into college, or what to do about an unfair suspension, or what to do about a teacher who spends the class time reading out of a book instead of explaining and tells a student who doesn't understand that he must be stupid.

Students can teach other students about the laws, rules, and forces that govern their lives in school. Suddenly, you have an apathetic and put-upon student body coming alive, realizing for the first time that they know enough to protect their interests, their dignity, and their psychological well-being.

In other words, they know enough to protect their equal educational opportunity.

CONCLUSION

I would like to conclude by saying that I will never be a violent revolutionary because I sincerely believe that enough young people and Black people and poor people have been killed, maimed, and destroyed. The line of senseless tragedy stretches from southern lynchings to Kent State to Jackson State, to what seems to me like the systematic murder and incarceration of Black Panther brothers. I sincerely believe that the only real revolution that can take place in this country, and in this world, is a revolution of peace—of love, trust, and respect for each other.

There is nothing revolutionary about Black folks and young folks dying in this country. Life is a very precious and dear thing. We have, in our brief history, made dying as routine as going to the bathroom, and that is as shameful as it is absurd. We must somehow emphasize the importance of living and of developing strategies to see to it that our young are able to develop to the fullest of their potential. To strive for anything less is to say that all of the Black people who have bled and suffered and died, and all of the young people who have bled and suffered and died, have done so for nothing.

When students protest conditions under which they are forced to live, when Panthers protest conditions under which they are forced to live, when Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans and American Indians and women protest conditions under which they are forced to live, and over which they have absolutely no control, the criticism cast upon them by those people in control is that they are unreasonable. But, consider for a moment that they are not unreasonable to cry out against the rat-infested dwellings in which people are forced to live, and the murderous psychological deaths that people are forced to endure for no other reason than the Blackness of their skin. They are not unreasonable when you think about the arms, and legs, and eyes, and ears being blown off the limbs of 17 and 18 and 19 and 20 year-olds. They are not unreasonable, in fact they are most reasonable. The idea of having the right to bear arms was not originated by them. It came from an important document written by some famous men. Our children were forced to memorize this document, along with other famous documents in institutions designed to transmit the cultural heritage. I hear young Blacks and Whites screaming about injustice. Why shouldn't they scream? The nation that fed them democracy from the cradle has been pretending to be deaf, dumb, and blind to the tremendous injustices imposed upon the Black and the Red, the Brown and the Young, the very Old and the Very Poor and Women for quite a while.

As a child, I attended the New Central Baptist Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania every Sunday. I can still see and hear Reverend Augustus Habershaw saying, while he looked at a black book called the Holy Bible, "If you train a child in the way he should go, when he becomes a man he will not depart from that training."

We have trained our children with these words:

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them to one another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to affect their safety and happiness. . . . But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security."

So, when you sit down to do something about all the testimony you have heard concerning equal educational opportunity, I hope that some practical results will come out of this committee. And soon. We have already seen, especially in recent years, what non-action and unkept promises and refusal to listen results in. What it results in is not a pretty sight for our children and their children to witness.

I have a very different vision of what this country can be than the vision I saw in the newsreels of Detroit and Watts and Kent State and Orangeburg, South Carolina, after people got through expressing their frustrations and their desperation.

I hope that, through men like yourselves, the nightmares of recent years will be replaced by something far more humane and closer to what we like to think of ourselves as capable of achieving.

DON'T QUIT

When things go wrong, as they sometimes will,
When the road you're trudging seems all up hill,
When the funds are low and the debts are high,
And you want to smile, but you have to sigh,
When care is pressing you down a bit,
Rest, if you must—but don't you quit.

Life is queer with its twists and turns,
As everyone of us sometimes learns,
When he might have won had he stuck it out,
Don't give up, though the pace seems slow——
You might succeed with another blow.

Often the goal is nearer than
It seems to a faint and faltering man,
Often the struggle has given up
When he might have captured the victor's cup.
And he learned too late, when the night slipped down,
How close he was to the golden crown.

Success is failure turned inside out—
The silver tint of the clouds of doubt—
And you never can tell how close you are,
It may be near when it seems afar;
So stick to the fight when you're hardest hit—
It's when things seem worst that you must'nt quit.
—Author Unknown

Thank you for your time, and for your consideration.

NOTE.—The Legal staff of the Student Rights Center is currently doing detailed in depth legal research into potential applications of the Ohio criminal code. At your request, we will be glad to furnish you with the detailed research when it is completed.

Senator MONDALE. Our final witness is Dr. Donald Smith, director of educational development, Bernard Baruch College, New York City.

STATEMENT OF DONALD H. SMITH, DIRECTOR OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, BERNARD BARUCH COLLEGE, NEW YORK CITY

Dr. SMITH. Thank you, Senator. It is a privilege for me to follow my able colleagues Drs. Watson and Thomas in testifying before this distinguished committee of the U.S. Senate.

I am reminded of an occasion a number of years ago when, after I had finished giving a high school commencement address, a young black student said to me: "That's the first time I've ever heard an educated person tell the truth."

The anticipation of appearing before this committee was heightened by the knowledge that Art Thomas and Bernie Watson would be eloquently truthful in their discussions of the denial of equal educational opportunity for black children and youth. I hope I can be equally so.

It is with a high degree of difficulty and a lesser degree of pessimism that I have responded to the committee's invitation to discuss higher education opportunities for black and other nonwhite youth. Difficult, because the main problem areas have been well articulated by other black educators whom the committee has had the wisdom to invite. Pessimistic, because I am not convinced that my testimony or the sum total of all of our testimonies is going to make any significant difference. I proceed, however, in the spirit that one more pebble might tip the balance.

A good deal of my statement will focus upon the open admissions program of the City University of New York, as a case in point. Introductory to my remarks about open admissions, I shall make a few comments about the universities antecedents: the lower schools.

INSENSITIVITY IN TEACHING AND CURRICULUM

My own vantage point comes from 6 years as a high school teacher and counselor, an equal number of years as a college professor and administrator of programs for disadvantaged youth and their teachers, 5 years as a continuing consultant to the Follow Through program in San Juan, P.R., and 1 year as executive associate in education for the National Urban Coalition.

During this period, on a regular basis, I have visited classrooms in elementary and secondary schools throughout the continental United States and Puerto Rico. And I have talked with black, Puerto Rican, chicano, American Indian, and poor white students on many college campuses.

What I have seen and heard has been painful and discouraging, with only an occasional glimmer of hope.

In an elementary classroom in Jackson, Miss., a summer program was being conducted for gifted black children. As the teacher, also black, introduced me to the class, she explained in a loud voice that most of the children were not really gifted but were there to make the class sizable.

On an Indian reservation outside of Phoenix, Ariz., I visited seven elementary classrooms where I found not a single indicator in the curriculum that the children who were being taught were American Indian.

In Philadelphia, I saw an early childhood program that had been labeled "bilingual, bicultural." Yet there were no visible signs that the cultures of the black and Puerto Rican children were receiving any attention. The only pictures on display in the room were those of white America's culture and heroes.

The same cultural denial was true for a school of Mexican-American children I visited in New Mexico. In migrant labor camps outside of Portland, Oreg., and in schools along the Texas-Mexican border, children were being punished for daring to speak Spanish, their first language.

A black high school teacher in Pittsburgh, obliged by the times to teach Afro-American history, offered little more than a recitation of heroes and a ridiculing of his students.

In a school in central Harlem, I found the psychological and physical abuse of black children by white teachers to be chilling. And in an all-black school in Washington, D.C., where most of the faculty were also black, I was appalled by the anger and hostility which the children and teachers manifested toward each other and toward their own peers.

I wish I could say to the committee that these few examples are exceptions, but lamentably they are not. These experiences encapsule the typical educational life for most black and other dark-skinned minorities in America's public schools.

With a few notable exceptions, poor children are every day subjected to inhumane physical and mental abuse. They are denied the affirmation of their culture and personhood which every child requires for healthy psychic development. They are subjected to lower standards or no standards, based upon their presumed nonteachability.

After an elementary school career where they have been made to feel stupid and culturally inferior, and from which they are likely to have graduated several grade-levels below the national norms in reading and mathematics, they are then processed into high school.

DEHUMANIZING NATURE OF HIGH SCHOOLS

As F. Wiseman has demonstrated so well in his documentary entitled "High School," even for upper and upper-middle white youngsters, the American high school is a place which stifles creativity and independent thought. (Frederick Wiseman. "High School." Osti Films, Cambridge, Mass. 1969.) It is an institution which cares little for the inculcation of humane values, but instead performs well its principal task of transmitting a culture of Anglo-Saxon supremacy.

For the poor and the black, the high school does its insidious work with equal effectiveness. The high school discourages, it anesthetizes, it dehumanizes. The role it prepares blacks and other minorities for is that of hair fixer and bedpan carrier, servant to the elite.

Three years ago I testified before a subcommittee on education of the Senate of the State of Illinois. The speaker who immediately preceded me was the superintendent of schools in Chicago. In his lengthy testimony he showed colored slides to demonstrate the success and diversity of programs offered to Chicago high school students. In keeping with the reality of the American high school, the superintendent showed slides of white youngsters who were being instructed in computer sciences and laser technology. Black students were shown as they were being trained to be beauticians and hospital orderlies. I might say that that changed the entire text of my statement. My entire statement was based on the slides.

GHETTO ENVIRONMENT

Life is hell in the ghetto and in el barrio. The temptations are very great for a young boy or a young girl to try to escape their misery through drugs. Thank God, most of them do not. Yet the number who do sniff cocaine or shoot heroin has reached tragic proportions. In New York City, heroin is a scourge that touches children as young as 11 years old and in a wide circle affects relatives, friends, neighbors, and strangers steal billions of dollars of merchandise to feed their habits.

Senator MONDALE. Are you testifying that the failure of these schools is a key cause of drug addiction?

Dr. WATSON. The failure of the schools is a microcosm of the failure of society. I am saying both.

Senator MONDALE. Do you regard it as being a substantial contributing element?

Dr. WATSON. No more so than the larger society which the school reflects, but both indeed so.

Drugs, homicide, and other crimes plague poor black communities. In Chicago and Philadelphia teenagers are killed by warring gangs sometimes because they refuse to join the gangs, sometimes because they are found on the wrong turf, and often as innocent bystanders. Added to this are the numbers of black teenagers who are each year killed accidentally by law enforcement officers.

A poor nonwhite youth who enters college has survived a long and perilous journey. He has withstood most of the physical violence in his community and he has overcome the cultural and intellectual violence of his elementary and high school. Those who graduate are a select population. Those who enter college are very select.

ROLE OF EDUCATION IN BLACK COMMUNITIES

Through there is continuing debate in the black communities over what constitutes an education, there is general agreement that education is the principal means of economic advancement. Consequently, black people in this country have always placed a high premium on education, this in spite of the seeming contradiction of anti-intellectualism which exists in black communities. Yet, the tendency to reject things academic, inconsistent as it may appear, finds its parallel in the larger white society which also values education in the abstract but rejects rigorous intellectuality.

Throughout the decade of the sixties, black and brown and red citizens placed tremendous pressures upon America's institutions of higher learning to open their doors to the children of the poor. In New York City black people stayed on the case unrelentlessly. Ultimately they were joined by Puerto Ricans and other concerned people in exerting enormous moral and physical force upon the City University. City College of CUNY was the principal site of suasion and combat.

OPEN ADMISSIONS

At its meeting of July 9, 1969, the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York adopted a policy of open admissions, whereby commencing June 1970, and thereafter, all graduates—with diplomas—of New York City high schools were assured a place in one of the 20 City University units.

In explaining its decision to move the target date for open admissions up from 1975 as projected in its master plan of 1964 to 1970, the board stated:

> The Board was impressed by the arguments of students and faculty that equal educational opportunity for all should be a reality now, and cannot wait until 1975. Both the University Senate and the Student Advisory Council have gone on record as favoring expansion of opportunity as rapidly as possible. Representatives of community groups, social agencies and labor unions who appeared before the Board during its recent hearings on the City College matter consistently and unequivocally called upon the Board to expand enrollment as a matter of educational desirability, social equity and economic necessity in our city. [Statement of Admissions Policy Adopted by the Board of Higher Education. New York, July 9, 1969.]

At last the doors were open. With no apparent barriers remaining, black, Puerto Rican, and other disadvantaged minorities would probably begin to enjoy their rightful opportunity to a free public higher education.

In September 1970, 34,592 freshmen entered under the new open-admissions policy, an increase of 77 percent over the 1969 entering class of 19,559 students. Yet only 25 percent of these were nonwhite. The bulk of the freshman class was comprised of white students, many of whom would have attended private universities, but who were now the beneficiaries of an open-admissions program whose inception has been instigated by blacks and Puerto Ricans.

REMEDIAL INSTRUCTION

Avowed that open admissions would not be a revolving door through which students would enter and exit quickly, the board of higher education instructed the individual colleges of City University of New York to institute remedial courses in reading, composition, and mathematics for those students whose placement scores indicated need. Additionally, the colleges were required to offer academic, financial, and personal counseling to all freshmen students.

The colleges responded to these mandates with individual patterns of compensatory and counseling efforts. Of the almost 35,000 who entered, nearly 18,000, or more than half, had high school averages below 80. Most of these students required one or more remedial courses. (Memorandum of the Committee on Expanded Educatonal Opportunity, Board of Higher Education, New York.)

CERTIFICATE SYSTEM

Clearly, the freshman class had grown by 77 percent but blacks and Puerto Ricans had still come up short. There are many reasons why this was so. First, of that small population of blacks and Puerto Ricans who actually finished high school, only about 25 percent received diplomas; the rest are given certificates—indicative of their failing the regents' examination—further indicative of the academic neglect they have received in high school.

Senator **Mondale**. Is that what they mean by an academic degree?

Dr. **Smith**. No; any kind of diploma was adequate for admission, either an academic or general diploma; but a diploma was required, and most black and Puerto Rican students do not get a diploma, they acquire a certification, so a certificate bearer was not eligible.

Senator **Mondale**. So there are three kinds of paper handed out at graduations. One is an academic, one is a general diploma, and the third is a certificate which means you are a loser?

Dr. **Smith**. That is right. So with the staggering dropout rate of minority youngsters, those who finally do walk across the stage, 25 percent of them get diplomas and the rest of them get a certificate that says "By-by, Baby."

Senator **Mondale**. We have had testimony on Puerto Rican education. Last year, there were 250,000 Puerto Ricans in the New York City school system; only 200 of them received academic degrees. Would that be accurate?

Dr. **Smith**. It sounds accurate to me. I do not have the data right here but it sounds accurate from my discussions with Aspira.

Senator MONDALE. What is an academic degree supposed to mean, that it is the top?

Dr. SMITH. That he has pursued an academic course in high school and that in the senior year he has passed the regents' examination.

Senator MONDALE. What does the diploma mean if it is not an academic degree?

Dr. SMITH. Well, there are vocational high schools—they are not academic high schools, they are vocational high schools, and youngsters from those high schools get vocational diplomas. They also are eligible. That is where the bulk of the student population was coming from. Many of the students who had gone to the vocational high schools in New York, who are white blue collar workers' children, that is where many of them are coming from.

Senator MONDALE. What percentage approximately of the high school students in New York City are going to vocational high school?

Dr. SMITH. I do not know that figure.

Senator MONDALE. What would you guess?

Dr. SMITH. I would not want to hazard a guess. It would be——

Senator MONDALE. Could you find out and send me a note?

Dr. SMITH. Sure. I would be glad to.

Senator MONDALE. Proceed.

Dr. SMITH. Only diploma recipients were eligible for admission the first year. The New York public schools are planning to do away with the vicious certificate system. Hopefully, they won't replace it with another disqualifier for minority students.

Second, because of the fact of City University's traditionally being closed except to the academic elite, many students whe were eligible to apply simply did not know of or did not believe the opportunity was there.

Third, in many instances black students were discouraged from applying by high school counselors who informed them of how difficult it would be to get in or how difficult to stay. In other instances, while counselors did not formally discourage students, they also did not actively encourage students to enter the City University.

SEEK PROGRAM

Fourth, many students could not afford the fees, books, and general upkeep of a college education. The pioneer scholarship program for black, Puerto Rican and other poor at CUNY is the SEEK program, search for education, elevation, and knowledge. Now in its sixth year, SEEK provides a modest stipend, and money for books, counseling, and tutorial service.

SEEK students are selected by computerized lottery and only a few are chosen. The rest of the open admissions students, many of whom share identical economic needs as their SEEK counterparts, receive little financial support.

Finally, there were students who were aware of the new open door policy, some of whom because they were obviously bright might have been urged to apply, but who elected not to do so, out of personal distrust. Recently, I asked a very able black youngster who had just graduated from a New York high school if he intended to go to college. He answered that he had no intention of being brainwashed in a white institution. I have talked with and heard about many other young blacks who reject college because they believe it to be a dishonest diabolical institution whose purpose is to perpetuate and promulgate racism and unequal opportunity. Many of the brightest minds are so embittered by racial and social class injustice they want no part of higher education. Others have decided to learn to use the system for their own and their group's advantage. It is mostly the latter who enter college.

FACULTY OPPOSITION

Once the students actually entered under open admissions their problems were legion. First, they had to encounter faculty and administrators, many of whom did not want them on campus. In fact, the majority of CUNY faculty had voted against open admissions. Surely, all of the opponents did not act purely out of racist motives. Some who believe with the Vice President of the United States that America's universities are academies for the cultural and intellectual elite or our "natural aristocracy," are almost as adamant about poorly prepared whites as they are about blacks. Others, fearful of the shift in the balance of controls from total white power to power shared with blacks and browns masquerade under the guise of academic standards and the pursuit of excellence.

The number of administrators and professors who are deeply committed to the success of open admissions is probably small. The group is not all black and Hispanic; nor are all blacks and Latins committed.

ADJUSTMENTS REQUIRED

Few, if any of the colleges have instituted widespread or far-reaching changes to accommodate the new population. Instead, the students are expected to make all of the adjustments. Open admissions is certain to be judged by student grade point averages and reading scores, with little or no attention given to the way the college optimized or minimized the students' chances for success.

Second, the students were likely to have been taught by traditional methods and with materials which offered them little cultural or intellectual stimulation. More of the same that turned them off in high school. Needing remedies, the students are fed the same diet which made them sick in the first place. The cruelest part of all is that they had to suffer and yet receive no credit for what many faculty refer to as high school work. Where remedial programs are good—and there are a few—there is still a race against time to improve skills sufficiently before the student flunks out.

Third, even if their compensatory courses contained topics and materials relevant to their lives, the black and Puerto Rican students were unlikely to discover consubstantiality in any other curricular offerings, except black and Puerto Rican studies. Once again they were forced to cope with an alien and often hostile environment.

Fourth, but of no less importance is the great need of poor nonwhites for financial support. Yet, the City University budget and Federal economic opportunity grants were inadequate to meet the economic needs of many impoverished freshmen. At my college we even lacked money for badly needed tutorial services. Fortunately, however, because of volunteers from the Celanese Corp. we were able to mount a tutorial program.

Data on the first year's grades and attrition rate are not yet public, so I am not prepared to attest to the success or failure of open admissions as a program.

REQUIREMENTS OF SUCCESSFUL OPEN ADMISSIONS POLICY

I believe as a policy open admissions is a magnificent statement of equal educational opportunity. Operationally, it can be killed by gross underfunding, by apathetic or negative administrative leadership, and by intransigent faculties.

It can fail to do the educational repair job that many students require if the academic purists are allowed to hold sway over faculty appointments and curricular changes.

As a model for other communities the open admissions program of City University of New York is a harbinger of what public higher education can become, must become. The program has lived its first year. Its continued growth, and the realized potential for minorities, will depend mightily upon:

1. Adequate funding.
2. Faculties who have been trained to work with the nonwhite and the poor.
3. Curriculum which builds upon the skills and interests of the students and stimulates them to higher livels of achievement.
4. Counseling and tutorial services.

And I think, most importantly:

5. Administrative commitment and active, aggressive leadership.

Obviously CUNY's is not the only higher educational model by which black and other nonwhite and poor youth may have the opportunity for higher education.

But this I believe: All American youth should have the right to higher education, should they desire it. All American youth should be encouraged to pursue that right. Government and universities must insure it.

Because of the criminal neglect in the lower schools many black students will enter college eager for an education but deficient in the required skills. The colleges will gain little by feeling sorry for themselves. They must accept full responsibility for helping minorities to catch up to the level where they can do acceptable college work. The buck has to stop there. Some measures of justice must be done for opportunities thwarted for hundreds of years. If we can afford to spend billions of dollars to fight a war in Southeast Asia, if we can afford to spend billions of dollars on moonshots, then we must also afford the descendants of the builders of this country their rightful opportunity to free higher education.

ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Finally, let me close by saying that colleges and universities have a responsibility to all of their students which supersedes considerations of race. That responsibility is to help students to discover the truth about themselves and their society. The trust about America's treatment of her minorities will be painful for most whites. But it will be a large step in the unmasking and dismantling of racism in this country. Racism more than any other factor has been and remains the principal barrier to equality of educational opportunity for black people in this Nation.

Senator Mondale. Thank you very much, Dr. Smith, for a most useful statement. How was SEEK funded? From what source?

Dr. Smith. SEEK is funded through the State.

Senator Mondale. It is a State program?

Dr. Smith. Yes.

Senator Mondale. It is not tied into grants?

Dr. Smith. No, it is not tied into research, but some of the stipend money comes out of EOG. The stipend money can come from various sources. EOG can be one source; college work study can be another; loan programs can be still another source.

Senator Mondale. You know that as we meet today, there is a higher education bill up in the Senate which will greatly liberalize students' assistance programs. For the first time, there will be a cost of education institutional grant, so that the children of poorer families will not only be more able to pay for the cost of education but private and public institutions will be fighting over it in order to get some of that grant money.

Dr. Thomas. Could I make an observation on the higher education situation? I think it is appalling to note all of the very beautiful, elaborate buildings going up in remote wilderness areas where universities are generally located. One suggestion that I have, for your consideration, would be to combine the rebuilding of urban communities with the building of colleges and universities, and in doing that, you have students who want to serve the community right there; you have new facilities that can be used by that community, and you bring together the intellectuals and the people that need services. I think it is ridiculous to keep building dormitories and million dollar buildings out in the wilderness. It is almost like we are trying to get rid of some people that could be providing services to a community.

POTENTIAL OF MINORITY STUDENTS

Senator Mondale. Dr. Smith, you made a point that has often occurred to me. When we look at the difficulties, the barriers to which you have all testified as have many other witnesses, which confront a poor child and destroy many of them in our school systems, there are still millions of them that somehow make it through the system. They confront racism and seem to be able to stand up to it, even though they may be damaged. They take unfeeling school systems and somehow they live through it. They come out of these schools damaged, perhaps, but they are sufficiently competent in basic skills and the rest, so that it is a good bet that they make excellent college students. In fact, the last time we looked at it there are nearly a million of them each year who come out of the public school systems equipped to go to college but do not do so, principally for financial reasons, also—for some of them—motivational reasons to which you made reference.

It occurred to me that when we are talking about equal opportunity in this country, a very high priority ought to be placed in encouraging those gifted young men and women to go on, because they must be remarkable people to have stood up to what they are up against and not be discouraged. What an enormous force for reform they would be if we sought them out and made it easy for them to go on to college or to whatever kind of institution, vocational or otherwise they were interested in.

I wonder if that could not be a major answer, what those million kids would do each year if we made certain that they went on equipped with higher education. What an enormous force for reform they could be. Failing that, what an enormous source of destruction they must be—because they are the brightest, and the frustrations that they must have, knowing that they are able, yet that their life chances have been vastly diminished. That must make a tremendous pool of resentment and even destruction.

These are just observations I make, primarily looking at the statistics. Both of you know these people as human beings. How would you react to that observation?

Dr. SMITH. I would think that it is a rather dangerous observation, Senator, with all due respect, because if the Senator also reads, he knows that the suicide rate among young blacks is increasing at an alarming pace. He also knows that the suicide rate of young Indian teenagers is at epidemic proportion, and a good deal of this is not related solely to the opportunity for higher education. It is related to the dehumanizing of people; it is related to the fact that the Indian teenagers who go to schools where they are processed to be American, are robbed of their country and live in a cultural no man's land and have no, base, no psychological roots. It is related to young black people who at one point, because of the excellent psychological impact of black self-awareness and black power, began to feel beautiful, that they could do something, but now, 5 or 6 years later, are beginning to discover that even feeling better has still not led to substantial economic, political increase in status, increase in life opportunities, and the disillusionment is so great that, as the Senator does correctly point out, it could have very drastic implications—some of self-destruction, but others of larger outward reaches of aggression.

IMPACT ON CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Dr. THOMAS. I would agree with Dr. Smith totally. I also think that there is another consideration that we have to make, and this alludes to the same thing that Dr. Smith has already pointed out. The whole impact of the civil rights movement, the whole impact of the media, with black men standing up to say that they are men, has had a very profound impact, not only upon the students that you talk about but also upon Vietnam veterans. So you have many different communities that are victims of the same types of oppression.

What I am concerned about is not only what happens to the student that makes it through there, but I am also concerned about what happens to the student that does not make it through there. You correctly point out, I think, that many students do make it despite the system, but I think that that has to be attributed to them, rather than to any forces around them, and so what I am really saying is that we have an obligation. For example, let me point out something that happened—I think this is critical—at Shoemaker Junior High School, in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1950. I was there and I will never forget this as long as I live. I was in a mathematics class and a white math teacher told me: "You are dumb. You are never going to be anything, and you will never finish school." But he told one of my friends the same thing, so I said right then, at that point, I am going to make a damned liar out of this cat.

I will never forget it. So I finished school mainly because that man had told me I wouldn't and because my mother insisted that I would. I plan to send him copies of all my degrees one of these days. But the point is that one of my friends was told the same thing, and he is doing long-time at Holmesburg, in Philadelphia, for a very serious crime.

I would agree totally with what Dr. Smith said. You have to understand that everybody out in that community is very oppressed. You have a father competing with the Vietnam veteran, competing with his high school child for a job opportunity, and the child cannot be really concerned any more about how he is going to get through school; he has to be concerned about where the next meal is coming from. I think you have got to redefine the whole business of school also because a lot of young people, as Dr. Smith pointed out, resent being processed and they resent being institutionalized into what they consider a bad institution. Do you follow me?

SERVICE-ORIENTED CURRICULUM

I think what we are going to have to do is redefine the whole business of college and we are going to have to coordinate services with learning. It appears to me that if we can somehow develop a curriculum that provides service to that community, that puts college students in direct contact with other students and with the members of the community, then we are going to be in much better shape.

One idea that I am designing to deal with one of the problems that you are talking about, which is the way to get money into kids' hands and at the same time provide an opportunity for them to use their skills. One of the ideas that I have is to take college freshmen who are preparing for teacher education and assign them five 1st grade students and evaluate them on the basis of how well those kids learn, and take them straight through from the time those kids are in 1st grade, and from the time they are freshmen in college, to the time those kids graduate from elementary school and let them go ahead and get their Ph. D.'s simultaneously and deal with action research.

I am saying there are a lot of other strategies that can be developed. We can assist the legal services programs in providing legal services to students in the community through political science classes; we can assist in revamping cities through students in architecture and urban design classes. There are many opportunities, but we have to first of all stop isolating students and sending students to concentration camps called "colleges" and make those colleges relevant to what is happening today and providing services. I think that any provision for college curriculum that does not build into its curriculum providing services is headed for, very bad times.

COLEMAN POINT GETS LITTLE ATTENTION

Dr. **Smith**. If I may, Senator, I would like to disagree with one of the points of my very learned colleague, Dr. Watson, whom I esteem. The point was in reference to the Coleman report and I think it is such an important point and it gets so little attention that I would like to bring it out in reference to the statement that I just made about how minority kids are feeling about themselves, the disillusionment and so on. That is the statement that Coleman makes about black youngsters feeling a greater sense of control in an integrated school situation is to me nonsense—it is nonsense.

The same Coleman report, in another section, points out that the kids who were surveyed felt worse about themselves as people, and I would question how one could have a greater sense of control and at the same time feel diminished in self-esteem. I think the two are dissonant. I think the two cannot happen together and I tend to believe that there is a diminished sense of self-esteem of the black or the Puerto Rican or the Chicano youngster who goes to a primarily white school, where he sees no signs of his culture, where he puts his hand up endlessly and does not get recognized, where he gets shut out of many of the nonathletic activities—they are all permitted to run sports—but where they are shut out of nonathletic activities, where they do not exist in that school.

I tend to think that that is a more powerful and more negative factor by which integration should be judged than the allegation here that there is an increased sense of control over one's destiny. That might simply mean that when one is an environment where everybody is turning right, it is kind of natural that you make a right trun, so if you go to a school where everybody is going to college you may not feel a greater sense of control over your own destiny simply because you move along with what the masses of people are doing. So I think that is a very important point that should not be undervalued and that should be more clearly understood than most people apparently understand it as they talk about the Coleman report.

Senator **Mondale**. Unfortunately, I have another vote to make. I think I will ask Donald Harris to ask any questions he wants to, and maybe one or two of you could ask questions for the record. In addition to that, if you could submit for me any figures that you have on the diploma/certificate system in New York, figures on blacks and whites and Puerto Ricans, I would like that for the record. Thank you very much.

ACCOUNTABILITY

Mr. **Harris**. You talked earlier about accountability, Dr. Thomas. Would you define that term for us, please.

Dr. **Thomas**. To me, accountability, in terms of teachers and administrators, means very simply this: Making them do the job they are being paid to do. Is that clear enough in terms of where I am from? I have said this before: A child should know more—no matter what his surroundings are, how poor he is, whether his mother and father are together or whether or not he did not sleep the night before. Despite all those factors, I am not concerned with all that in terms of his learning. I am concerned with all that in terms of his development as a full human being; but in spite of all those factors I am saying that the teacher has a responsibility of teaching him, and I am also saying that the administrator has the responsibility of making sure that that teacher does teach him; so I am saying very clearly that if a child has not learned something, if it is c-a-t spells cat, if he has not learned that from 8 in the morning until 3 in the afternoon on a specific day, then that teacher is not doing her job.

Let me give you another example of what I see as accountability. In the not too long ago history of this Nation, this country sued and imprisoned a man named Marcus Garvey for using the mail to defraud. I am saying that in 1962, in school systems that I know of in this country, the school board sent out literature through the U.S. mail saying, pass the school levy so your children can learn. I am saying, in fact, those children did not learn. I am saying that those school districts and those school administrators should be sued and imprisoned for using the mail to defraud. I am talking about criminal charges against administrators.

For example, robbery, as defined by the Ohio Revised Code, is to take something by force without consent. I am saying that if a child's creativity and initiative is taken and destroyed by a school administrator, then that school administrator should do a minimum of 7 years in jail and a maximum of 25—myself included.

I am saying that corporal punishment has to be outlawed. I thank my friends Kenneth Haskin and Preston Wilcox for teaching me that, because they taught me that you cannot go around telling children that you love them while you are paddling them at the same time. I am saying that if a teacher has to paddle a child, the teacher does not belong in the school.

I am saying a child should know more at 3 in the afternoon than at 8 in the morning; the child should know more in 1971 than in 1967; and if he does not I am saying the teacher who is responsible is guilty of fraud and embezzlement, and I am saying that I want to go directly to the criminal court, in terms of criminally charging them through the prosecutor's office and seeing to it that they do some time—that is what I am saying.

IMPLEMENTATION OF ACCOUNTABILITY PROGRAMS

Mr. HARRIS. In areas where there are not agencies or organizations such as your Students Rights Center, how could a program of consumer accountability, if you will, for monitoring what happens in the schools, be implemented?

Dr. THOMAS. I think that the first avenue is—Thomas Jefferson said it another way—educate the people and tyranny and injustice disappear. I am saying that we have got to develop strategies, and that was why I came up with the recommendation of cable TV.

Let me give you an example of what will happen, in responding to that, Mr. Harris. Let us say, for the sake of example, that students own a cable TV station or that they have 1 hour a week on the radio and that this is a popular station. Let us say we have all planned this. A student comes into the Student Rights Center and he says: "Look here, Art Thomas, this teacher hurt my feelings and this teacher pushed me around," and this student is about 9 years old.

"And the next time this teacher does that, I am going to knock her down."

This is all being played out on TV before thousands of kids and thousands of parents. So the Student Rights Center staff works very closely with this child, and we instruct him as to exactly what to do. The next time he goes into class and this teacher hits him or talks nasty to him, he pauses for 20 minutes. He does not say one thing for 20 minutes, and then after the 20 minutes he raises his hand, and after Mrs. Z recognizes him he says:

> Mrs. Z, what you have just done has psychologically dehumanized me to the extent I may never be able to adequately function again as a human being, and unless you refrain from treating me in such a manner I will have no alternative but to take you to the U.S. District Court, and let me remind you there is a good chance that I can win a $100,000 suit charging you with a "psychological tort."

Mr. Harris. Do your students do that in Dayton?

Dr. Thomas. My students are being taught to do that.

Mr. Harris. In what grades?

Dr. Thomas. Seventh grade. We are working on the second graders now, and we are trying to develop a strategy for the kindergarten students, and we are going to put this in comic books if we can get some money from the Select Committee.

Let me tell you what a 17-year-old told me. He said he was going to knock the teacher down. I said:

> Look here, man, if you knock the teacher down you are going to do time for assault and battery, but if you let the teacher knock you down you might be able to collect some money.

I saw him later and he said, Brother Art I am being cool waiting for that teacher to hit me so I can collect $50,000 for assault and battery. I am saying here that the important thing that he is learning how to control himself and his situation.

CONSUMER RIGHTS

Back to the point, I am saying that if we could develop strategies like that over the radio, we could educate welfare mothers about what their rights are: we could educate students about what their rights are; we could educate parents about what their rights are in general.

For the record, I would like to point out that I am especially grateful to a very brilliant sister named Dr. Ruth Burgin who helped me put these documents together and who has helped me in many instances when we have had very hard confrontations with the system; and also the staff of the Student Rights Center, and mainly the citizens of West Dayton, the black adults and black children who work hour after hour trying to improve the community and showing some faith in this country finally being able to deliver equal educational opportunity, and to Dr. Dwight Allen and Dr. Arthur Eve for admitting that white racism is the No. 1 problem to be dealt with in education.

Mr. Harris. Dr. Smith proposed the accountability program in New York City. Do you want to comment on that? I believe Dr. Dyer, of ETS, is under contract on the New York City board to implement an accountability program. Are you familiar with it?

Dr. Smith. I do not know the details of the program.

HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Mr. HARRIS. Dr. Smith, in your comments, you gave a pretty harsh indictment of the public school system. What recommendations would you have in terms of improving the high school programs, so that students, if and when they do go to college, are better prepared?

Dr. SMITH. It is a very large question.

Mr. HARRIS. I do not have to vote, so you can take your time.

Dr. SMITH. I think one of the most important factors in doing this is insuring that the schools have the kinds of administrators, the leadership element, who understand the kids, love them, and have some sense of appreciation of what they are going through outside of the school, what their lives are like. For example, I think Mrs. Sizemore, who testified a couple of weeks ago, is an example of that kind of administrator, whose own love and enthusiasm is contagious and sets standards for teachers, some of whom—well, in her certification, she had something like 80 percent substitutes, so some of these teachers had some real feelings of inferiority about their ability to teach their subject or about their ability to cope in a ghetto school; and I think the administrator's task is to provide a kind of environment where teachers are comfortable and students are comfortable and each are supported.

I think the curriculum in the school is terribly important; I think that is one of the keys—a curriculum in which the lives of the students, their culture, are reflected; a curriculum which teaches students skills that are salable and that are not outdated in an automated society. I think, as many witnesses have pointed out, the involvement of the community—not the involvement of Flint, Mich., style community school—where parents actually make decisions, that is a form of accountability. That is a medium for insuring accountability when parents are making decisions about who can be hired to teach, who can administer, and who can remain in a school.

I think that one of the important jobs that has to be done in urban schools today—and as I alluded to it in my statement—is to get the pushers out of the schools. That is an educational problem, when kids are sitting nodding in class or when kids are not in class—you cannot teach kids who are not there. So the changing of the environment of that school, I would see as the most critical issue, and that is a factor that has to come, I guess, in a centralized system, from the top down. In a decentralized school system, I think it is easier to do. I think it is easier in a Sam Shepherd-like situation, for one man and some principles to begin to reach out to parents and make parents and kids feel that they are worthwhile, that they are human, that they can learn. These are some of the things.

COMPENSATORY EDUCATION

Mr. HARRIS. Recently the committee heard testimony from Dr. Harold Howe, former Commissioner of Education, and from Dr. Charles Smith of the Rockefeller Foundation. Both suggested that compensatory education programs, title I and so forth, would be very high on their own priorities in terms of improving education. How do you feel about present compensatory efforts, title I and otherwise?

Dr. **Smith.** I think Art Thomas made a very excellent point when he said that there was the danger that title I assets, as it has existed, can be used as evidence that black kids and other poor kids simply cannot learn because the money has been poured in and there has been very little to show in terms of increased reading scores, math scores, and so on. But I think that that is a false conclusion; I think Art does too. I think it has never yet been tried. I think compensatory education has not been tried yet.

What it has generally been is that the same people who failed, the same people who could not do the job from 9 to 3 once they were tired, were hired later in the afternoon to do more of the same. I think that people who design the programs are generally those who failed, and the people at State level who approve them have typically been those who are also failures.

To give you an example, there was a Title I meeting in 1967, at which every Title I director was white. And Title I is aimed at a target population who are poor and black and brown and yellow, and in about a dozen of our largest cities blacks are the urban population in the schools. When you add the browns and yellows and reds, that is the urban population just about throughout the country; but yet it is the same control factor still designing programs that do not work. Then the analyses of these programs say, well, the money was poured in, kids can't learn. Programs typically have not been designed by people who were capable of making them work. They have not been implemented by people who were capable of making them work. American public education is still very much white controlled; and in many instances where there are black and other nonwhites allegedly at the helm, these are typically the people who are acceptable to the whites who failed, rather than people who are acceptable to the communities and who have the ingenuity and creativeness to make a difference.

Dr. **Thomas.** I would agree totally with Dr. Smith. I think that the critical thing to remember is that knowledge is power. Frederick Douglass had to hide behind a barn to learn how to read and write, and if he had been caught he would have been killed because the man, the enemy, the power institution recognized a very long time ago that knowledge is power. Therefore, I think that by design it is all right to pump billions and billions of dollars into programs as long as they do not work, but, you see, there is a whole record of what happens to any educator that proves that poor black and oppressed children can learn.

ACCOUNTABILITY IN COMPENSATORY EDUCATION

Let me cite an example. When I was director of the model cities education program, I went into a kindergarten class and I stayed there all morning. They got there about 8; they took a nap at 8:30; they took a nap at 9:45, and they took another nap at 11:30, and they went home at 12. I said: "What in the hell is going on here?" The teacher said: "You have to let them develop at their own speed. You can't psychologically harass them." I said: "I figure like this. You get those blocks out of the way. You get them up off those carts and you see to it that they learn, because I would much rather have them learn skills, so that they can get a job, so that if they need a psychiatrist they can afford one, but the way you are running this class, you have them laying down there resting, developing at their own speed on their own, not learning anything." I see many of these compensatory programs as merely revised slavery, another kind of plantation-type thing, and I am saying that if you are going to have a compensatory program, then you are going to have to hold those folks, black, white, orange, green or tan, responsible for those programs, and criminally negligent if those kids do not learn.

I am saying that if the kids do not learn, you have to say that the program director is criminally negligent and he has to do a certain amount of time in jail or he has to be fined, or he has to go to some place else because we know that these children are beautiful; we know that they have ability, and we know that there is something wrong with the program. That is why they are not learning, so if you are going to hold the administrators accountable in that manner I think perhaps they will work.

Also, you have got to listen to the real experts. I am saying that young people should be designing these programs. I am saying that poor parents should be designing these programs with the technical assistance of the educator. Educators, black and white, the Ph. D.'s, all have to start regarding themselves as tools to be used by that community, and this can easily be done if you really love, trust and respect that community.

Mr. HARRIS. What you seem to be saying is that intrinsic interests—that is, parents, community folk—are of greater importance in terms of learning—survival is the word you used before—than extrinsic or external interests—other people from different communities who view their task in terms of security, a way of making a living rather than helping a community develop.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Mr. STRICKMAN. I would like to pose a question to Dr. Smith, and perhaps ask Dr. Thomas to comment on it as well. You mentioned the system now at the City University of New York under the open admissions policy—the fact that either the academic or general diploma was now sufficient, although the certificate was not for admission to the City University. The general diploma, I take it, is that diploma which is given by vocational schools as well as perhaps by some academic schools which have a different curriculum. The question relates to vocational education and what its role is in equal educational opportunity, both as it goes to opportunities for higher education and perhaps insofar as at least traditionally vocational schools in many urban areas have been considered a dumping ground, a dead end for black and brown students particularly. Is there hope in a vocational education system: should it exist coextensively with so-called academic high schools? Is it a dumping ground and should it be eliminated, or is there hope for greater achievement both with and without higher education in a vocational school system?

Dr. SMITH. Those are some very interesting questions. In fact, I spent a year on the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education and we were trying to grapple with some of those. I think, one, Edith Green is right. It is not her original idea—Congresswoman Green—that everybody should not go to college, but everybody should have the right to go. But there are some students who would prefer, who have the intellect that if they wanted to go to college, could go, but would prefer to do something that would challenge their hands and, in fact, would probably make a great deal more money, and they ask also to have that right to go to vocational school. There are some other students who do not have the intellectual ability to go to college, who can be trained for useful service.

I think probably the comprehensive high school that would offer various kinds of educational enterprise is the ideal, where there would be opportunities for academic as well as vocational education. But my great concern is the kind of concern that I alluded to in my statement, and that is that even within the comprehensive high school, or in the separate vocational kind of high school, minorities are still going to continue to be channeled into those kinds of service occupations to serve the larger society, based on a number of reasons.

FEDERAL MONITORING OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING

One would be the reason that Washburn Trade, in Chicago, gave when it was refusing to train blacks for a number of kinds of careers because of the statement: "The union will simply not permit the men. We are going to be wasting our time." My position, when I was on that vocational education, was that no Federal funds should go into Washburn Trade or any place else for any students who refused to train black students for the kinds of careers that would pay them a decent wage. That is my concern about vocational education. I think that unless there is careful and close Federal monitoring, the funds are going to be misspent and they are going to be misspent in ways which are still going to train blacks and Puerto Ricans and chicanos for menial kinds of existences.

That is more critical, I think, than where it takes place. If it takes place in the comprehensive high school, or if it takes place in a separate high school, or if it takes place in a community college which is vocationally oriented, it is what kinds of vocations students are being trained for.

Dr. Thomas. I agree totally with Dr. Smith's statement, and I would also like to make another observation. I think it would be unrealistic to start talking about vocational education in the sense that we are dealing with—should black kids go into vocational education, is basically what you are saying; right?

Mr. Strickman. Should there be a vocational education program?

Dr. Thomas. I think that that question cannot be answered until some research is done, first of all, in terms of what jobs will be available for the next 25 years or so. To me, it is totally assinine to be preparing meat cutters when machines do that, and to be also teaching kids how to repair shoes when people throw away their shoes now and do not even take them to the shoe shop.

I am saying if we are preparing students for obsolescence, no; but if we are preparing them for urban space planning, for computerized technology, if we are preparing them for leisure, yes. If we are preparing them to eliminate racism and oppression, yes.

I think there is another observation, not only with vocational education but also dealing with education in general. I think the man that wrote *The Greening of America*—Reich—brings this forth very clearly when he says that the media has taught people how to dislike their jobs. Do you understand? A stenographer looks forward to going home, or taking a break, especially when she has a fast talker. You look forward to what the commercial on TV beams—a trip to the golf course, or a trip to the beach. Therefore people learn to hate work. When you run across a person like Dr. Smith or a person like myself, who likes to work 18 hours a day, who likes to make sure that you provide equality for children, everybody gets mad with us. If we were all on an assembly line and we had to put out five parts an hour and I started putting out 18 parts, everybody would want to beat me up because of the fact that I would be forcing others to work harder.

I say, first of all, anticipate what the world is going to be like in the future, but, secondly, develop some kind of appreciation for work, some kind of appreciation for serving people, some kind of appreciation for respecting people, and some kind of appreciation for being a human being.

Mr. STRICKMAN. Dr. Smith, you have said before that the statistics are not yet available on the success of testable skills in CUNY's first year of open admissions. From your personal observation, you gave a fairly bleak picture of integrated schools as you observe them, presumably at the primary and secondary level. In the component colleges of the City University of New York, integrated to the degree that they are, have the same problems that you have perceived in elementary and secondary schools where integration or so-called integration has taken place, evidenced themselves at the City University?

Dr. SMITH. I do not think I am qualified to speak about 19 other units. Some of the data that I gave are data that is published concerning all the units. I have been to conferences where other people running remedial programs have reported on what they are doing. I cannot attest to what is going on in the other units. I can only talk about my own, which there is little point in doing, but integrated; yes—students are sent to all of the units. Keep in mind that in the distribution of students under open admissions, students who had high school average scores of higher than 80 were almost guaranteed that they would go to a senior college. Bernard Baruch is a senior college. Students under 80 were more than likely sent to a community college, though there are in the senior colleges some below 80's, and many of the black and Puerto Rican students would fall under open admissions. Many fell in the below 80, and so therefore the heavy concentration is at the community colleges.

Dr. THOMAS. Could I make an observation relative to another level, with your permission.

Mr. STRICKMAN. Please do.

RESEGREGATION

Dr. THOMAS. Correct me if my interpretation is wrong. We are talking about the difference between desegregation and integration. One of the very great concerns that I have is: For example, in Dayton, under Title VI compliance, the school system was forced to desegregate. I am still having problems with why they did not send poor black children from an urban community to the best white school in the city.

Instead, they sent them to the worst white school in the city. I am still having problems, when we talk about desegregation, with all the black children ending up in the general course or in the special education course while all the white children end up in college prep, in German, Latin, and in physics. I am saying that this game of resegregating within a desegregated situation is ridiculous, and I am saying that if we are not talking about meaningful integration, at the preschool level or even at conception, where young black people can share the total thing, then why waste our time and why waste our energies?

One strategy might be to establish a new department in this country, the department of institutionalized racism, and then just say:

> We admit that we are racists, and we will always be racists, and racism is a part of our cultural heritage, and you function within your environment and we will function within ours.

If you are not going to do that, eliminate it entirely. I think the populous would be willing to accept whatever the decision is going to be, but you have conditioned black people now to want to live alone, especially young black people.

They are saying: "We don't want to sit down next to white people," and the reason they are saying that is because of a reaction. They are saying: "White people have deliberately excluded us; white people have deliberately told us that they didn't want to be bothered with us." And if you slap any man long enough he will say: "That's OK, I don't have to be bothered with you either. I will build my own."

Now, as black people start building their own, all of a sudden integration is important. I am saying we have got to make up our minds.

Grier and Cobbs, in the book "Black Rage," described this country as South Africa with a little bit of tinsel on it. If that is what we want to be, that is one thing; but if we all want to be a truly integrated community where all people can share equally the rewards, et cetera, let us make up our minds and let us make up our minds fairly soon. Let us not go the desegregation route on Monday, the integration route on Tuesday, and another route on Wednesday, because that is confusing to the people. Clarify where we are coming from on that and do it on a national level.

ALTERNATIVES TO INTEGRATION

Mr. Strickman. Do you think there is room for alternative strategies; that is, what is good for one community may not be good for another community, granted the distinction which you pointed out between desegregation which undermines the self-esteem of kids who are black or brown—that is not an acceptable strategy anywhere—and integration?

Dr. Thomas. I think that the President has already stated in his policy statement on education that there are different communities—OK? And what I am saying is I think that there should be integrated schools for those people that choose to be integrated. I think that there should be black schools for those people that want their children to go to black schools, and I think that there should be white schools for those people that want their children to go to white schools.

Let me tell you what happened. When I was at MacFarlane Elementary School, white ladies from the suburbs used to always attack me as being a militant and say I was keeping integration from coming about because of my massive attacks on white racism. I said: "How many of you ladies"—there were about 50 of them there—"think that MacFarlane School is a good school?" And they all raised their hands, all of them. I said: "How many of you ladies"—because they were from the suburbs—"can afford to pay the tuition to send your children to MacFarlane next year?" And they all raised their hands—50 of them. I said: "How many of you white ladies from suburbia, since MacFarlane is a good school and since you can afford to pay the tuition, will agree to send your children to MacFarlane next year?" And I got two hands, and they were feeble—they were up and down like that, jiving. So I am saying let us make up our minds. Does that answer your question clearly enough?

Mr. STRICKMAN. I think it does.

I just raise this question in a slightly different context. Each community, though, as a community, presumably should have a voice in determining what strategy is going to be used for the education of their kids?

Dr. THOMAS. Right. I think that if you want an integrated school, what you are going to have to do is build that school in a black community and it is going to have to be the best school anywhere. You are going to have to have swimming pools there; you are going to have to have the best of everything. Because one thing I know about a capitalistic audience is they will all go where the resources are, and I think that is evident in terms of the new southern Governors' statements. OK?

Dr. SMITH. I think there are some real dangers there. For example, if a community elects that it is going to keep out everybody else who does not wear the same kind of clothing or have the same kind of skin color, I do not think they have the right to do that and I do not think Federal funds ought to be spent in some situations. I cannot say that every community, independent of a humanitarian fabric, has the right to make its own decision about what it shall do, and if it does do that it should not receive Federal and State funds to do it.

Dr. THOMAS. I do not disagree with Dr. Smith's statement. I want that to be clear for the record. What I am talking about is the differences that exist in the country. I am talking about the availability of different types of schools for different types of people that have different ideas, et cetera, and I would agree with Dr. Smith. I do not think, for example, if people have to move away from being humane and if they have to just deliberately move to oppress people by using schools, that Federal funds or any other kinds of funds should be used. For example, I know that there are some kids in my community that are very dedicated in terms of developing positive self-images for black children. I know of some young people that would do an excellent job in terms of saving kids that would normally be lost by schools in general. Those kids probably do not want any white kids to come to that school, but it is not because they are racist; it is because of the fact that they have been so oppressed by the white community and they see the white community as an enemy.

I am saying that while we are going through this process, if we are going to humanize the country I want as many alternatives as possible to be developed. But I am in complete agreement with Dr. Smith. Do not just arbitrarily let folks do what they want to do for racist, oppressive reasons.

CULTURAL PLURALISM

What I was dealing with was Mario Fantini's thing, which I agree with. Let us have different types of schools; let us have multicultural schools. If you have got to integrate a school, I think it is important for you to have black folks in that school sometime during the day, doing their own thing, and let the Italians do their own thing. I think you have got to let folks go back home in terms of their heritage and culture. That is the point I was trying to make.

Dr. SMITH. Do you ever see that happening anywhere?

Dr. THOMAS. I guess it is idealistic, but I guess that is the way I think, idealistic to a degree.

Dr. SMITH. I am not quarreling with you at all. I am saying, yes, I agree with that, but it is just not happening. Under the name of integration, it is everybody be American and forget about pluralism.

Mr. STRICKMAN. Presumably on an experimental basis it is happening in a few places?

Dr. SMITH. Yes; it is happening, of course.

Mr. HENNIGAN. Dr. Smith, do you have any information yet on the application patterns for the school year beginning September 1971 and their effect on City University admissions? Are there any significant differences in the ability groupings, and ethnic and racial distributions?

Dr. SMITH. No; that is not available—not yet—not available to me. I am sure it is available at the admission center, but it is not available to me at this time.

PUBLICITY FOR OPEN ADMISSIONS PROGRAM

Mr. HENNIGAN. Were there any deliberate efforts made to publicize more clearly the opportunities under open admissions for the 1971 year in the New York school system?

Dr. SMITH. There were visitations both in 1970 and 1971 by admissions counselors from various schools, but I think that is not adequate. I think there has to be a full-scale kind of public relations program to let kids know that it is available, that they are wanted, that they do possess—I talked to a student who came out of Stuyvesant High School, which is a high academic high school for black students, who came into Bernard Baruch and was placed in remedial courses. During the two terms I think he made something like five or six A's and three or four B's; yet this student had been told by his high school counselor that yes, there is such a thing as open admissions, but it is really for those who can make it; it is not for you. So I think a lot of truth has to be told about what the opportunity is.

I look at it in some sense like Headstart. During the first year, as I recall, in New York and Chicago, the first summer of Headstart, the staffs were sitting around because the mothers did not recognize that this valuable service was there for their children, and Headstart centers could not begin until the teacher started going out and beating the bushes in the communities. But the second year, once the parents recognized that it was there, it was free, that it could do some good for the children, the centers were all flooded; so perhaps with the appropriate kind of communication the opportunity is there. The numbers will be greater.

Mr. HENNIGAN. Dr. Smith, has there been any impact on the New York high school system itself in terms of better counseling, better preparatory programs, including those remedial in nature, for the students who were opting for admission? Has there been much feedback yet?

Dr. SMITH. I think a system like New York is too vast to say that counseling has improved, when counseling in high schools throughout the country is horrible; it is discouraging. Typical reactions of counselors are to prepare students for the realities of the harsh world they will face and therefore do not go into something that they will be capable of being successful at. I do not think there is any data to suggest that counseling has improved in New York or any place else.

STANDARDS IN URBAN SCHOOLS

Mr. HENNIGAN. I would like to shift to a different subject for just a moment. In the testimony that Dr. Harold Howe and Dr. Charles Smith gave to us the other day, former Commissioner Howe posed a problem which I think deserves more discussion. In discussing the possibility of community schools, he said there is a problem of insuring some standards which apply across a metropolitan area in terms of what skill levels should be achieved and certain curriculum objectives that have to be met. Could you offer us some thinking, from your point of view, on how you could reconcile the drive or movement toward community schools on the one hand with perhaps at least some logical need for standardization on the other?

Dr. THOMAS. My first reaction to that is that that is a kind of racist position because I notice that whenever there is a time to delegate more power or to redistribute power from one to another, all sorts of explanations and criteria and standards come up. What I am saying is this: There are no standards now in urban schools that I know about, and I would much rather rely on a poor black mother to push a teacher, to see to it that her child gets out of poverty and gets out of oppression than rely on a white middle-class Ph. D. sitting in the State House in Columbus to see to it that her child gets an adequate education. I am saying that I think sometimes the business of standards are really jive.

Let me give you an example. There are conflicting laws in the State of Ohio. There is a law that says parents must send their children to a school that meets the minimum standard, and there is a statement by a high State official that says 99 percent of the schools in the State of Ohio do not meet the minimum standard—but they have no schools closed in Ohio. I am saying that I see that as another control mechanism. To say that we cannot give parents control because they will not hold their children or their schools to a certain standard, or their personnel to a certain standard, is ridiculous.

Mr. HENNIGAN. I do not think he meant it in that sense. I think he was posing the abstract case: that if you are going to have community schools, there would still be a need for some kind of set of standards, so that parents would have some way of determining which schools were performing better than others.

Dr. THOMAS. Let me be very specific. I am saying that if there are going to be some community schools, that means——

Mr. HARRIS. Are you talking about community controlled schools?

Dr. THOMAS. Yes. That means parents are going to control those schools and that means that the standards should not be set by former commissioners, by folks from the State House or folks from any other house. I am saying that if there are going to be standards, let those parents determine those standards because the folks that are determining the standards now are not abiding by those standards, so they are really not standards.

Mr. HENNIGAN. I am not arguing the validity of any set of current standards. I am just posing the problem of how do you find some benchmarks that will help parents determine standards. How would you go about training and forming teachers and administrators to function in community controlled schools? This implies the possibility of some type of doctrine or theory of education, which may be different—hopefully—than the one that is now used in what would normally be referred to as a monolithic system.

POLITICS AND COMMUNITY CONTROL

Dr. SMITH. I think that one of the real tragedies of community control as we have known it thus far is that the community people have had to struggle so much in political turmoil to survive, to exist, to have the right to make the decisions about their children.

Mr. HARRIS. Political as opposed to struggles over educational issues?

Dr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. HARRIS. Programs, techniques, teacher training, et cetera?

Dr. SMITH. Right, because that is the end of the sentence. The end of the sentence is that because there has been so much struggle, because there have been so many powerful forces that have been determined to underline, to subvert the community control process, communities have had to expend most of their energy in the act of survival and have not yet, except in some notable exceptions, gotten around to the business of really coming up with substantial educational programs that make a difference in the lives of children.

I happen to know of one case of a school under community control that did manage to get around to such programs, that did make a difference, and the principal of that school became a target of other people because that school was so outstanding and was achieving so much and was showing up the rest of the district, and that is the kind of thing that was referred to by Art before.

SELF-IMAGE

I think yes. Let us say that it is axiomatic that I agree that "to be" is more important than to read, to have a good self-image, to think you are somebody, that you are a man is more important than reading well. Let us say that that is axiomatic; but once they get to that place where the kids are feeling pretty good about themselves, where they know it is all right to be black, they have got to be taught something and they have got to learn to read and do mathematics. And if somewhere up the line they are going to be able to make the decision: "I want to go to college," or not to go to college, they are somehow going to have to be taught the academic language code that will enable them to be successful there. That does not mean rub out their own cultural language, et cetera.

Yes, there do have to be some measures; there do have to be some standards. I cannot agree with people who say: "Let them just do their thing. Let them alone." I think maybe some boards of education are throwing up their hands in disgust and are beginning to say: "Yes, let those blacks do anything they want to do. Let those Puerto Ricans do anything they want to do. We are just tired of it."

I think that is not an attitude that can be taken by a school system, that can be taken by a community or anybody else. Yes, you are damned right I want some standards, but I think the setting of those standards, as Art says, has to come from some kind of combination of the community, if it is a community controlled situation, and the students, and if it is a centralized situation, then it has to be some kind of grouping of community, students, central office, et cetera. But there do have to be, right at the moment, national norms, maybe some reasonable standards to shoot for in terms of academic skills; but to be able to read and to be able to do mathematics, and being humane or to feel bad about yourself, or to be racist, avails us nothing.

We are the most literate Nation in the world and we seem to solve problems by killing, so that does not seem to do it.

STANDARDS AND RACISM

Dr. THOMAS. I would agree with everything that Dr. Smith said. It is a "given." You know that if you are black you have to have three times as much information as other folks. That is understood. We know that.

The point I am trying to get to is this. To me, it is another form of very sophisticated racism to say we are going to give you parents some power, but you are going to have to deal with these standards which we are going to set, and that is what I am having problems with. I would agree, sure, but the thing that I recognize here, and I think the thing that is imperative for folks to recognize at all levels of government, is that black parents do want what is best for their children, and Puerto Rican parents do want what is best for their children. I am saying I would much rather entrust that parent, working with somebody like Ken Haskin, working with somebody like Preston Wilcox, Donald Harris, Ruth Farmer, or Ruth Burgin or Rhody McCoy, I would much rather entrust that parent to develop those standards than to entrust somebody in the State House to develop those standards, because I believe that the person in the State is working in the best interest of the power institution—the power institution being an institution of institutionalized racism. But I believe that parent wants what is genuinely best for that child.

I want to emphasize that. I want to come at it from the standpoint of the parent not having a formal education. The desire for your child to succeed is much more penetrating and much more dynamic and will develop a much more positive image in terms of that child not only feeling as good but actually in terms of sitting down and doing that work than some director of the State department.

There are always exceptions. These are some good State department of education people, like Bob Greer, Art Bouldin, and Louise Mack in Ohio, and like Sandy Wood in Minnesota.

Mr. HENNIGAN. You are continuing to hold up an image—I will not call it a strawman—which reflects a status quo. What happens, for example, if you have a centralized school system and progressively, over a period of 2 or 3 years, break it down into 15 or 20 community controlled systems? Someone has to allocate the money. How do you begin to judge which community schools are more or less deserving of moneys for certain purposes in curriculum development or teacher training? It is a very difficult problem. Perhaps we ought to tax and raise resources on a different basis.

ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES

Dr. THOMAS. He who gets behind in the race must forever remain behind or run faster than the man in front. We understand that.

I want to go back to my original point on accountability. I am saying that parents know if their children are reading and writing. That is why school levies are failing, because children are coming home and they cannot read or write or do arithmetic. Parents are saying this is ridiculous. What I am saying is, first of all, if you have got black children in the school you know they have been oppressed and victimized from the very beginning, so you know automatically you have to put more financial resources in there; but you also know that if you have got black children in the school, personnel has got to be made more accountable. I am saying if you have got black kids, Puerto Rican kids in there, other minority kids in there, put the best resources in that school. If a white kid is in that school, you automatically have a lot of resources. The institution is going to see to it that if you are responsible for educating a white child, you have a lot of books, a lot of chemistry classes, that you have a real good library. The point that has to be made is to give black kids and other poor and oppressed kids all those resources and see what happens.

Mr. HENNIGAN. You used the terms resources and best resources.

Dr. THOMAS. Best resources.

Mr. HENNIGAN. It is a question of who is going to decide what is best for 10 or 15 schools who are competing.

Dr. THOMAS. Let not the allocation come from the budget director; let the parents be a part of that budget committee.

Mr. HENNIGAN. I think we see where we are having problems communicating.

Dr. THOMAS. I do not think we are having problems communicating. I think you are having problems turning me to your point of view.

DROPOUTS

Mr. HARRIS. In the interest of time, I think we had better close. I have got one question which perhaps both of you will respond to quickly. It has been suggested a number of times in a number of different ways that a lot of the so-called dropouts, both from high school, junior high school, and further down, as well as in college, are indeed of among the brightest, most able kids in those schools. Do you agree with that?

Dr. SMITH. I would not say the most, but I would say they certainly are, that many of them are very bright and they have given up on the school system that demands a stultifying kind of conformity, that demands a total submission of personality and creativity—a lot of them have given up. I would not say that all the dropouts are the brightest, but I would say that a number of them are. I would say that the young student I cited in here, who I think is very bright, there are a growing number of students who say: "No, I don't want any more than that because you are just going to try to brainwash me," and in a sense it is certainly right.

Dr. THOMAS. I agree with that.

Dr. SMITH. It is hard to counteract that kind of response by a youngster. What can you tell him? Come to my college? Or go to college X and see that it is not so?

Dr. THOMAS. We have got some research statistics for the record in the progress report for the Student Rights Center, which pointed out that 53 percent of the students that drop out of school do have above average intelligence, whatever that means, but I would also like to emphasize the whole business of dehumanization.

One of the functions of the school is to take away black men's manhood. The function of the school is to destroy the black man in terms of his psychological and physical being. It stands to reason that students who stand up, students that are men, students who do not listen to this jive about George Washington and Christopher Columbus, will eventually drop out of school because somebody is challenging their manhood.

One of the school's basic functions has been the destruction of black manhood. You do have many students of above average intelligence, who refuse to sacrifice their manhood by staying in school and eating cheese, and being good "boys."

HUMANISTIC EDUCATION

Mr. HARRIS. All three of you this morning seem to have been talking about something relating to what has been called humanistic education; perhaps black children and parents particularly may be concerned about this particular affective portion of education. Briefly, would you give us a definition of humanistic education?

Dr. THOMAS. Let me say this, and perhaps this will be an explanation and a definition. Nathan Wright, Jr., in his book "Black Power and Urban Unrest," states it has been the duty of the oppressed to save themselves and their oppressor. Black people, despite the fact we have been victimized and spat upon both physically and psychologically, and in many other ways that folks have attempted to destroy us, we do not want to transpose the same thing on other folks. Therefore, we believe that if, for example, black people were, by some miracle, allowed to become free in the next 20 years, and Puerto Ricans were still being oppressed and Mexican Americans were still being oppressed, and poor white people were still being oppressed, this would simply mean that somebody else would be coming up the ladder trying to destroy black people. We want all people to have the right to live and be human.

We are saying that somewhere there has to be a regeneration of love, trust, and respect and understanding for mankind. What I am talking about is appreciation for others and appreciation for oneself, and an atmosphere whereby one can function using one's total potential.

Mr. **Harris**. Would you say these humanistic attitudes are unique to oppressed groups?

Dr. **Thomas**. Frantz Fanon says that men, women, and children will rise against their oppressor. I concur with this. I also think that oppressed groups can in some way influence the oppressor and humanize the oppressor. What we have to keep doing, especially because of the 80 million, or 22 million—I think there are 80 million of us, but the man says 22 million to make us feel less adequate—in terms of all oppressed groups we have got to start assuming that the oppressor is not only an oppressor but is also sick. We have got to start assuming that we are the doctor, and we have to start prescribing medicine for the oppressor. Do you understand what I am saying?

Dr. **Smith**. I think oppressed groups can be oppressive to each other too.

Dr. **Thomas**. That is true.

Dr. **Smith**. I think that a humanistic kind of education or humanistic kind of value system is one where children would be taught to be tolerant and to have respect and concern for other people, those like themselves and those unlike themselves. When I talk about like and unlike, that covers the spectrum, racially, like and unlike, religious, politically, physically, respect and concern for the maimed, the physically unattractive, the deviant, just respect and tolerance for other people; and a feeling that man is an image of divinity and should be revered, and that people are more important than property, so you do not go around killing children because they happen to throw a brick at a store. That is what I would have in mind, the teaching of this kind of thing, and I do not think much of that is going on anywhere under the old system, under the new systems, under the systems that are contemplated. There is not much happening.

Mr. **Harris**. Thank you very much.

Senator **Mondale**. The committee is in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p.m., the Select Committee was recessed, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1

ITEMS SUBMITTED BY THE WITNESSES

FROM DR. ARTHUR E. THOMAS

STATEMENT BY ARTHUR E. THOMAS, CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF STUDENT CITIZENSHIP, RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES, DAYTON, OHIO

Literature dealing with the specific problem of this study is not extensive, though a considerable amount of related writing has been done in the general area of the legal rights of students in the public schools. This area is new enough that most research is still in stages of development. A comprehensive examination of the research of related literature necessitates the use of data much of which is yet in the preliminary analysis stage. The literature and research reviewed in this chapter are summarized in four sections:

1. Literature related to the social upheaval in this society in the past two decades;
2. Literature related to the organizational health of the public schools of America;
3. Literature related to educational reform in America;
4. Literature related to students rights activities in America.

The first section contains a documentation of the basic changes in this society since the *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka* case (Brown I) in 1954.[1] The second section contains an examination and a critical analysis of the material written by both the educational professional and the laymen thereby establishing the "organization health."[2] The third section reviews the literature on the attempts, successes, and failures of a social institution, such as the public school, to make changes in its operation. The fourth section will deal with the literature in the area of students rights and will examine the movement presently underway to interpret and insure the rights of all students as they proceed through the public schools of this country.

SOCIAL UPHEAVAL IN AMERICA

What has caused this society to become aware of its massive social problems and to struggle with new ways to solve them? Did the Supreme Court, when it interpreted the "separate and equal" issue in 1954–55, unleash the minds of many minority groups in this country? Did the Court's decision release the bonds established earlier and documented in the Plessy v. Ferguson case in

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[1] *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686 (1954).

[2] Matthew B. Miles, "Planned Change and Organizational Health: Figure and Ground," *Change Process in the Public Schools*, ed. Richard D. Carlson, (Eugene, Oregon: University of Oregon, Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, 1965), pp. 11–34.

1896?[3] The basic boundaries of freedom were re-defined and the exposure to the potential of this new found freedom caused America to stand and watch as all who had been deprived, rejected, or chained established new boundaries. Truman Nelson stated after the 1954 decision that ". . . it was our last chance because here was a moment when the decision was unanimous and the country was in a mood to accept it."[4]

The Warren Court, titled after Earl Warren, Chief Justice from 1954 to 1970, was a liberal activist court. It took jurisdiction and rendered decisions in areas on which previous courts had declined to act. This action no doubt had a great effect upon the attitude of people in the country. For instance, in civil rights it declared school segregation unconstitutional.[5] It also upheld constitutionality of Civil Rights Act of 1964,[6] and applied the law[7] and expanded the "state action" concept of the Fourteenth Amendment to eliminate discriminatory practices.[8]

In "political" areas it required states to reapportion Congressional and State[9] legislature districts so that one citizen's vote counted as much as another's.

In criminal law, it extended many of the rights contained in the Bill of Rights to defendants accused of crime by a state. Among these were: (1) evidence illegally seized by a state (contrary to the Fourth Amendment) or the product of an illegal search, could not be used as evidence in a criminal prosecution, in a state or federal court;[10] (2) a state may not compel a defendant to give witness against himself;[11] (3) indigent defendants have a right to counsel to secure a fair trial;[12] (4) a defendant has a right to be confronted by witness against him;[13] (5) the state may not administer cruel and unusual punishment for crimes;[14] (6) a person, when arrested, must be advised that he has a right to remain silent, that anything he says may be used against him as evidence in a court of law; that he has a right to counsel and that if he has no money to hire counsel, the court will provide counsel for him.[15]

In the freedom of religion area, it is decided that the state may not prescribe prayer[16] or Bible-reading[17] in public schools.

In the freedom of the individual area, it struck down statutes forbidding the teaching of contraceptive methods as unconstitutional.

The lawyers at the bar found that arguments based upon precedent, accepted legal doctrine, and long-range institutional concepts concerning the proper role of the judiciary and the distribution of power in the federal system founded upon Chief Justice Warren's persistent questions, "Is that fair?" or "Is that what America stands for?" Such questions were profoundly disturbing to those engrossed by the intellectual and institutional side of the law, its history, and sheer professional expertise. No one could successfully argue . . . that a poor man charged with a crime should not have as much chance to have a lawyer at the preliminary hearing as one who was rich or that cows and trees should have as much voting power as people.[18]

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[3] Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 US 537, 16 Ct. 1138 (1896); upheld the constitutionality of a Louisiana statute which required railroads to provide separate compartments for white and black passengers, and make it a crime for a person to sit in the "wrong" compartment. The law, said the court, did not abadge the privileges or immunities of United States citizens, nor deprive persons of property or liberty without due process of law, nor deny them equal protection of the laws! In doing so, the Court, through Mr. Justice Brown, gave its view of the object of the 14th Amendment: "The object of the amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but, in the nature of things, it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based on color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political, equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring, their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact, do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the compentency of the state legislature in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with children, which have been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of states where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced." (Id at 1140)

[4] Truman Nelson, *The Right of Revolution*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 8.

[5] Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 US 483, 74 S. Ct. 686 (1954).

[6] Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. U.S., 379 US 24, 85 S. Ct. 348 (1964).

[7] U.S. by Katzenback v. McClung, 379 US 294, 85 S. Ct. 377 (1964).

[8] Hamm v. City of Rock Hill, 379 US 306, 85 S. Ct. 384 (rehearing denied), 379 US 995, 85 S. Ct. 698 (1964).

[9] Reynolds v. Sims, 377 US 533, 84 S. Ct. 1362 (1964).

[10] Mapp v. Ohio, 367 US 643 (1961).

[11] Malloy v. Hogan, 378 US 1 (1964).

[12] Gideon v. Wainwright, 372 US 335 (1963).

[13] Pointer v. Texas, 380 US 400 (1965); Douglas v. Alabama, 380 US 415 (1965).

[14] Robinson v. California, 370 U.S. 660 (1965).

[15] Miranda v. Arizona, 384 US 436 (1965).

[16] Engle v. Vitale, 370 US 421, 82 S. Ct. 1261 (1962).

[17] Griswold v. Connecticut, 381 US 479, 85 S. Ct. 1678 (1965).

Probably the most earth-shaking decisions of all of these by the Warren Court were the Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka cases[19] which over-

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[18] Cox, Archibald, "Chief Justice Earl Warren," *Harvard Law Review*, Vol. 83 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1970), p. 2.

[19] Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Cases 347 U.S. 483, 74 S. Ct. 686 (1954), and 349 U.S. 294, 755 Ct. 753 (1955) overruled Plessy v. Ferguson (1896). This was a collection of four class actions which originated in Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware and had a great amount of effect on the social crises. In the cases, the plaintiffs were minor Negro children seeking admission to public schools on a non-segregated basis. Kansas' statutes permited separate schools for blacks and whites; in South Carolina, Virginia and Delaware, the state constitution and statutes required segregated schools. In Kansas, the U.S. District Court found segregation a detriment to education but denied relief because the facilities were equal. In South Carolina, and Virginia, the U.S. District Court hearing the cases found that the facilities for white and black children were unequal and ordered the defendants to make school facilities equal. Further relief was denied.

The Delaware case was heard in the state courts. The Chancellor found that Negro schools were inferior and ordered immediate admission of Negroes into previously all-white schools. The Chancellor also found that segregation by itself rendered a black child's education inferior. The Supreme Court of Delaware affirmed the Chancellor's decree. (347 U.S. at 488). Because of the obvious importance of the question presented, the court took jurisdiction. The Supreme Court was very deliberate in hearing the cases. The Court shaped its docket to assure that it would decide on the basis of records and arguments, not just of one state but of a fair cross-section. Also, in one of the four cases, Gebhart v. Belton (345 U.S. 972, 73 S. Ct. 1198 [1953]), the court proposed the following questions to be argued in the briefs of counsel when the cases were heard.

"1. What evidence is there that the Congress which submitted and the State legislatures and conventions which ratified the Fourteenth Amendment contemplated or did not contemplate, understood or did not understand, that it would abolish segregation in public schools?

"2. If neither the Congress in submitting nor the State in ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment understood the compliance with it would require the immediate abolition of segregation in public schools, was it nevertheless the understanding of the framers of the amendment (a) that future Congresses might, in the exercise of their power under Section 5 of the Amendment, abolish such segregation or (b) that it would be within the judicial power, in light of future conditions, to construe the Amendment as abolishing such segregation of its own force?

"3. On the assumption that the answers to questhions 2(a) and (b) do not dispose of the issue, is it within the judicial power in construing the amendment, to abolish segregation in public schools?

"4. Assuming it is decided that segregation in public schools violated the Fourteenth Amendment (a) would a decree necessarily follow providing that, within the limits set by normal geographic school districting, Negro children should be admitted to schools of their choice or (b) may this Court, in the exercise of its equity power, permit an effective gradual adjustment to be brought about from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions?

"5. On the assumption on which questions 4(a) and (b) are based, and assuming further that this Court will exercise its equity powers to the end described in question 4(b): (a) should this Court formulate detailed decrees in this case; (b) if so, what specific isues should the decrees reach; (c) should this Court appoint a special master to hear evidence with a view to recommending specific terms for such decrees; (d) should this Court remand to the courts of first instance with directions to frame decrees in this case, and if so, what general directions should the decrees of this Court include and what procedures should the courts of first instance follow in arriving at the specific terms of more detailed decrees? The Attorney General of the United States is invited to take part in the oral argument and to file an additional brief if he so desires."

After hearing arguments and studying the briefs, the Supreme Court spoke through Mr. Chief Justice Warren on May 17, 1954. "Separate but equal," its geneses and its history were examined.

The Chief Justice expressed this point: "Does segregation of children in public schools solely, on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of a minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. After explicitly overruling Plessy v. Ferguson, the Chief Justice concluded: "We conclude that in the field of public education 'separate but equal' has no place. Seperate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiff's and other similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

Now the Court was faced with a dilemma. Having made the decision, how to enforce it? The Court set further argument for a later date. Thus, the Court neatly separated the principle from its enforcement. All could agree on the principle that schools should not be segregated; agreement among the members of the Court as to how desegregation should take place was not likely to be unanimous (Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education, 396 US 20, 90 S. Ct. 29 [1969]). The question as to how enforcement would take place was answered in the second Brown case (1955).

First, school authorities would have the primary responsibility for solving the problems of desegregation; the Court's role would be to consider whether actions taken constituted "good faith implementation of the governing constitutional principles." Second, courts would be guided by equitable principles, i.e., flexibility and a balancing of public and private need. The time problem then arose. When would the desegregation of the schools begin? "The Courts will require that the defendants make a prompt and reason-

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threw the legal segregation position established fifty-eight years earlier.

It would be impossible that this kind of activity could go on without affecting the outlook of the large number of people.

The obvious failure surfaced by the launch of the Russian Sputnik in late 1957 caused the country to clamor to try to explain its shortcomings in this area of international competition. The critics of the American way of life had their opportunity on this stage to hang out dirty linens of the weaknesses and failures of this system. These weaknesses were strung out by the mass media of this country for all people to see.

The Congress became disenchanted with the lack of effectiveness in the space race and decided that they must shore up the obvious weaknesses. In the wake of this, they developed, in 1958, the National Defense Education Act[20] to attack the weaknesses they identified in the public school's effort.

Did the *Civil Rights Act of 1964*[21] cause the people of this country to see that

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able start toward full compliance. . . ." The burden would be upon the defendants to prove that the time taken was in good faith and in the public interest. The courts would consider the adequacy of the plans proposed by school authorities to give effect to the Court's decree. Finally, the District Courts on remand were to take such steps "as are necessary and proper to admit to public schools on a racially non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed the parties to these cases." "Under explicit holdings of this Court the obligation of every school district is to terminate dual school systems at once and to operate now and hereafter only unitary schools." (Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 US 537, 16 S. Ct. 1138 [1896]).

[20] The *National Defense Education Act of 1958* was a direct result of Russia's successful launching of the Sputnik I. The NDEA gave money to public schools (education) to attempt to improve the quality of the product in those areas that they considered to be weak. This was not general aid to schools and the Congress got around this issue of federal interference in school activities by declaring this a national emergency.

[21] *Civil Rights Act of 1964* was passed in 1964. The act was to give a clearer interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment in relation to "state action." Thus, the first two-section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Pub. L. 88-352, July 2, 1964, 78 Stat., 241) was an attempt by Congress to eliminate the last vestiges of segregation in public accommodation, voting, schools, employment, and public facilities. It provided injunctive relief and allows the Attorney General of the U.S. to bring suits in certain cases before a three-judge U.S. District Court. Appeal was directly to the Supreme Court of the United States. Each title or subsection of the Act has been, is, or possibly will be tested.

Title I (42 U.S.C., SS. 1971[a]) expanded the voting rights provisions of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. It prohibited the use of different standards in deciding who may vote (42 U.S.C., SS. 1971[a]2). It provided that an immaterial error in paperwork may not be used to disqualify an otherwise qualified voter (Id). Literacy tests were prohibited unless they were in writing and the voter received a certified copy of the test. The Attorney General could aid local authorities in giving such tests (Id). There was a rebuttable presumption that anyone who had completed the sixth grade possessed sufficient literacy to vote in a Federal election (42 U.S.C., SS. 1971[c]). Section 101(h) (42 U.S.C., SS. 1971[g]) of the Act provided that the Attorney General of the United States or any defendant could ask for a three-judge district court to determine the finding of a pattern or practice of discrimination.

Title II (42 U.S.C., SS 2000[a]) of the Act provided injunctive relief against discrimination in places of public accommodation. Establishments which served the public were within the scope of the law if its operations affected commerce or if discrimination or segregation by it was supported by state action (42 U.S.C., SS 2000[a] b). The law did not apply to private clubs (42 U.S.C., SS 2000[a] e). Section 202 (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000a–1) of Title II prohibited discrimination or segregation required by law, statute ordinance, regulation, rule or order of a state or state agency. Section 203 (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000a–2) prohibited the deprivation of, interference with, and punishment of any person for exercising the rights and privileges granted by the two preceding sections. Section 204 (42 U.S.C., SS 2000a–3) Title II made injunctive relief available against both public officials and private individuals who were covered by the Act because of their discriminations. An injunction could be obtained "whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage in any act or practice" prohibited by the Act (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000a–3[a]). 'The general intent and overriding purposes of the Act' said the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, 'was to end discrimination in certain facilities open to the general public.' (Miller v. Amusement Enterprises, Inc., 394 F.2d 342 [C.A. La. 1968] quoted in Antieau, Chester v. Federal Civil Rights Act. Lawyers Cooperative Publishing Company, Rochester, New York: 1971, p. 161).

Title III (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000b), authorized the Attorney General to bring suit in the name of the United States when he received a complaint from one unable to secure counsel, that he had been deprived of equal protection of the laws by being denied equal use of any facilities owned, operated, or managed on behalf of the state.

Title IV (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000c) provided for desegregation of public education. The Commissioner of Education was authorized to aid desegregation by technical assistance (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000c–2), training institutes (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000c–3), and grants of money to school boards to train employees for desegregation (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000c–4). The Attorney General of the United States was authorized to bring suit against a school board for denying pupils equal protection of the laws, upon a complaint signed by a parent or group of parents, if they were unable to secure counsel (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000c–6[a]). The action had to "further the orderly achievement of desegregation in the public schools." (Ibid).

Title V (Ibid) amended the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and set forth rules of procedure for Civil Rights Commission hearings. It also set forth some additional duties of the Commision. The Commission would (a) investigate allegations that citizens are being

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the political power was serious about providing a vehicle for equal opportunities? What did it mean when this law was applied to groups regardless of age, creed, color, sex, or nationality? This law was not interpreted by everyone in the same way. It was dependent upon one's orientation how one perceived each of the issues.

The Court cases subsequent to 1964 were indicative of the feeling of the American people that many areas needed to be attacked and how they could be handled. The civil rights cases, even though the writer felt they lacked sincerity and clarity and were not strong enough, moved very slowly toward insuring equal rights for all citizens. It brought a new awareness to the American public, particularly the minority groups.

There was a significant change that took place in the family relationship. Lerner[22] outlined this in explaining that the family began to break apart during the late years of World War II when the mother had to leave home to work on the assembly lines of the factories producing war machines. The mother was away from the children for extended periods of time and the children were left with people who did not have the same parental or emotional relationship. The prevailing parental relationship with children had been one of authority or the autocratic model. The parents were the bosses and made most of the rules unilaterally. The children were very docile and recognized their role and played it obediently. With the absenteeism of the mother and in many cases, both parents, the parents felt a need to give something to the children in lieu of the absence of love, or time together. They, therefore, substituted the sharing of power in decision making and the giving of material items. Both of these caused the child to perceive himself differently and to move toward the position where he had greater freedom in making decisions. Therefore, the situation in the home moved from autocracy across the continuum to democracy.

The next step in this continuum is from democracy to anarchy. The state of societies past show that they will not stay there but will react, but they do not typically return to their original state.

The outcropping of violence in the rebellions of Watts, Detroit, Cleveland, Newark and Dayton and the non-violent demonstrations by the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in Birmingham, Montgomery, and Atlanta, showed that

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deprived of the right to vote (42 U.S.C., SS. 1975a), (b) study and collect information about legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws (42 U.S.C., SS. 1975c[a]-1), (c) appraise the federal laws with respect to denials of equal protection of the law (42 U.S.C., SS. 1975c[a]-2, (d) serve as a national clearinghouse for information with respect to denials of equal protection of the laws (42 U.S.C., SS. 1975c[a]-3). The concluding paragraphs (42 U.S.C., SS. 1975c[a]-4) set forth the powers of the Commission.

Title VI (42 U.S.C., SS. 1975d) forbids discrimination in federally-funded programs.

Title VII (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000d et seq) provides equal employment opportunity and forbade discrimination in employment because of race, color, sex, religion, or national origin. It "created the right to be free from discrimination by employers, employment agencies, and labor organizations. To the extend that these groups affect commerce they are within the reach of Congressional controls . . ." (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000c et seq). It did not apply to employment of aliens outside the state and individuals for performance of religious and educational activities of religious corporations, associations, or societies and educational institutions (Antieau, *supra*, p. 196).

Under Title VII, discrimination in hiring was an "unlawful employment practice" (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000e–1) and an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was set up (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000e–2) to enforce (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000e–4) the Act. The Attorney General could also bring a civil action against an employer whom he has reasonable cause to believe was engaged in a pattern of resistance to the Act. (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000e–5).

Title VIII (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000e–6) commanded the Secretary of Commerce to conduct a survey to compile voting statistics in geographic areas recommended by the Civil Rights Commission. The survey was to determine how many people of voting age were registered to vote, by race, color, and national origin (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000f).

Title IX provided for intervention and procedure after removal from a state court in civil rights cases (Ibid). It also provided that the Attorney General of the United States could intervene in a case in federal court where denial of equal protection of the laws is alleged, if the case was of general public importance (28 U.S.C., SS. 1447 [d]).

Title X (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000h–2) of the Act established a Community Relations Service to provide assistance to communities and people in resolving disputes relating to discriminatory practices based on race, color, or national origin, which impair the rights, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, of the people in the community (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000g et seq).

Title XI provided for criminal and civil contempt proceedings against those persons who fail to obey an injunction of the court given to enforce the Act. A jury trial was provided, and the penalty for criminal contempt was set at $1000 maximum fine or imprisonment for up to six months (42 U.S.C., SS. 2000h) and even though such noise was made about it, the laws slowly went into effect.

[22] A speech presented by Max Lerner at Wayne State University in August, 1970 (unpublished).

changes in attitude of the oppressed were taking place. This was visible evidence that people were not going to accept anything but the ultimate in freedom and that the rest of society would have to change its attitudes to accommodate freedom for all. This activity could not avoid violent reactions by the people protecting the social institution. However, the reactions brought about interaction and the interaction affected the thinking of many of the people involved.

Therefore, as one speaks to the social upheaval in this country there are many areas to probe. Some of these are more visible and many less visible. The sociologist prefers to look at the event, what happens after the event, and more important, what happens to the people involved. The events mentioned in this section of Chapter II are so recent that the first two phases of the sociological inquiry are difficult to ascertain. Therefore, it would be very difficult to accurately develop the effect that the social upheaval of the 1950's and the 1960's had on the social conscience of this country. At the very best, the observer could say that the changes subsequent to the crises indicate a general concern was generated out of fear or anxiety, as suggested by many militant leaders would be unfounded speculation. An accurate observation, however, would be that much more happened visibly after the crises than happened before them.

LITERATURE RELATED TO THE ORGANIZATIONAL HEALTH OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The "organizational health" of the public schools in this country can best be determined by investigating the manner in which the public school, as an organization, is serving the society in which it exists. The role of the school has developed from the beginning of the public school activity in this country. The traditional Platonic or Jeffersonian notion of education as "paideia"[23] is inherently ambiguous, carried to its logical conclusion "formal education" all but disappears. The definition makes education synonomous with what the anthropologists call encultration.[24] "In view of the role taken here, therefore, education is defined somewhat more narrowly as the deliberate or purposeful creation evocation or transmission of knowledge, skills and values.[25] Therefore, if the public schools are serving this basic purpose of transmission of these factors, then they will be healthy as an organization. If not, the reverse would be true.

Are the systems of elementary, secondary and higher education in this country succeeding in their purpose? Jules Henry explains that ". . . the function of education has never been to free the mind and spirit of men, but to bind them."[26] The perspective from which Jules Henry deals shows that because the major responsibility of education is to indoctrinate the younger generation into the ways of this culture, one might, in a broader understanding of this role, say that education is succeeding. His greatest attack is not upon success or failure in the sense of whether they are achieving the overall goal but that there is an inherent weakness in the goal. Frank Lindenfield states this problem in his explanation of the culture. "Because ours is a materialistic, competitive, bureaucratized society, and because this is what almost everyone will ultimately be a part of, what is more logical than to prepare the young by instilling these values in them at school."

Hyman Rickover, in one of many criticisms of the American educational system, stated ". . . It (education) is not adequately serving us and must therefore be reformed. We have at present no clear-cut educational philosophy with firm objectives; scholastic achievements are too low and there is urgent need for some kind of machinery to set national scholastic standards which may serve local communities as a yardstick."[27] Rickover, who was a Vice Admiral in the United States Navy, has been a heavy critic of the American educational activity. He has spent a great amount of time comparing the American system and its product to the process and product of the schools in Europe, particularly Russia. He has shown where the American educational systems and standards are quantitatively and qualitatively inferior to the European systems and are thus out of step with the needs of a modern society. He felt that having children attend school just for the sake of attending was an atrocity.

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[23] "Paideia," from the Greek word education, culture. The training of the physical and mental faculties in such a way as to produce a broad, enlightened mature outlook harmoniously combined with cultural development.

[24] Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom,* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 5.

[25] *Ibid.,* p. 6.

[26] Jules Henry, "American Schools: Learning the Nightmare," *Radical Perspective on Social Problems,* ed. by Frank Lindenfield (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1968), p. 57.

[27] Hyman G. Rickover, *American Education, A National Failure,* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1963), p. 3.

"I see nothing democratic in autocratic promotion and unmerited diplomas. If a child is promoted before he has mastered a prescribed grade course, he will only seem to move up the educational ladder. In reality, he will be standing still on the same rung; this is camouflaged by educational labels that are as false as when sugar syrup is marked 'honey' on the glass jar. When diplomas are awarded for mere attendance, they will soon lose all value.

"A child who obtains a high school diploma when he cannot yet read and write with ease and dexterity has not really received a secondary education. True, he has been kept at school more years and his school has a different name, but he has not mastered more than an elementary program. He hasn't even mastered that well. As for the high school diploma he carried away, this has shrunk in value so that in many cases it represents no more today than did that grammar school graduation half a century ago."[28]

"There is no question in my mind that a large sector of the American people wants better education—all people like myself can do is try to bring the truth to the public, so that it may be able to reach a consensus. Enough people want school reform to warrant government action."[29]

Dr, James Bryant Conant discovered in his study of the American High School in the late 1950's that many of the high schools were not providing the type of education needed by students to survive in this society. He visited one hundred and three schools and four large school systems in twenty-six states and stated: "I found eight schools which, in my judgment, were satisfactorily fulfilling the three main objectives of a comprehensive[30] high school."[31] Dr. Conant gave twenty-one recommendations as to how these problems might be cleared. In 1967, he completed another book that pointed to the same high schools several years later. He felt that very little change had taken place.

Dr. Kenneth Clark, eminent psychologist from CCNY has spent a great amount of time and effort examining the schools of this country. He has had a particular interest in the way that the urban schools are serving the urban poor. "The evidence of massive breakdown in the efficiency of the public schools in American cities has now become a matter of public discussion, It is no secret that our urban schools are no longer maintaining high standards of educational quality. To put it bluntly, these schools are inferior, and so far, no one has found the formula for stemming this rising tide of educational inefficiency."[32]

Dr. Clark's attack on the educational system is only one by a long line of Black leaders who label the schools as ineffective instruments for training minority youngsters. He believes that the urban schools are training many thousands of functional illiterates who will be incapable of playing constructive roles in this society. He feels that many of these people cannot be integrated into this society without a very costly remedial education program. Therefore, he feels that he cannot criticize without suggesting some viable alternatives for change. Even in suggesting change he deals with the frustration of changing a social institution, such as formal public education by saying: "It seems most unlikely, however, that the changes necessary for increased efficiency of our urban public schools will come about simply because they should. Our urban public school systems represent the most rigid forms of bureaucracy. Paradoxically, they are most resilient and innovative in finding ways to resist rational or irrational demands for change."

Why are the public schools so effective in resisting change and so ineffective at educating children? "The answer to this question lies in the fact that public school systems are protected public monopolies with only minimal competition from private and parochial schools."[33]

Dr. John Fischer stated: "The American public school system is the world's most comprehensive and most fruitful experiment in universal education. Yet, the current performance of our urban schools is so poor and the resistance to change is so great, according to some critics, that they propose to replace the public schools with publicly subsidized and competitive independent schools."[34]

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[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 312–313.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 317–318.

[30] The comprehensive high school as explained by Dr. Conant is a high school "whose programs correspond to the needs of all the youths of a community."

[31] James B. Conant, *The American High School Today,* (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., Inc., 1959), p. 22.

[32] Kenneth B. Clark, "Alternatives to Urban Public Schools," *The Schoolhouse in the City*, ed. by Alvin Toffler, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1968), p. 13.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Dr. Fischer supports the failure of the schools through evidence such as the failure and dropout rates of pupils, the transfer applications of teachers, the complaints of parents, and the quiet options of the families with broader options who remove children by the thousands to private schools or to the suburbs.

Meyer Weinberg, in his book ***Integrated Education***, stated in the introduction to the book that "the crisis in urban education is a crisis of traditional practices. Rare is the practice that remains untouched by the new currents of aspirations and concern."[35]

Grier and Cobbs outlined part of the problem in their criticism of the educational system:

"Teachers are in low repute in America in large measure because they have no independent atmosphere in which to exercise their calling. The rigid control of teachers, curriculum, and budget by generally small-minded government bodies again reflects the essential purpose of schools, which is to serve the immediate economic ends of those who control them. Out of the same pragmatic thinking which produced the trade school and the commercial school has lately come the tracking programs, a system for selecting one of several programs for students based on the child's performance and test results. These programs have operated to launch white children into college and to provide mindless "busy work" for Black chilren until they are seventeen."[36]

If the overpowering amount of information given by different writers stating the dilemma in which education finds itself can be expected, the health of education could be determined. However, the weakness to the total educational activity is one thing, while on the other hand, how it serves minority groups, is something else. Whitney Young, when he referred to education as the last best hope said:

"For people desperately seeking answers to the civil rights and other problems that face us today, whether in employment race relations or automation, the panacea seems to be education. Both the expert and the man on the street seize on this as the remedy for the difficulties that besiege us.

"Acknowledging that there is validity in the overriding value of education, it is particularly appropriate that we face up to the extent to which the Negro citizen has been historically and currently deprived. Statistics reveal that in spite of heralded progress, the average Negro youngster receives three and one half years less schooling than the average white child. When one considers that the bulk of elementary training for the Negro child is received in inferior, segregated, slum schools—North and South—the real difference is more accurately five years."[37]

Stokely Carmichael, in his evaluation of the perception of Black kids when viewing the white power structure, states:

"He (the Black child) looks at the absence of a meaningful curriculum in the ghetto schools, for example, the history books that woefully overlook the historical achievements of Black people, and he knows that the school board is controlled by whites,"[38]

Nathan Wright furthers the Black criticism of the schools in his book, *Black Power*, when he states:

"Those in the ghetto-like confinement in our central cities have complained more and more since World War II that they are being shortchanged in the schools. They cite the traditional statistics of the increased number of dropouts, the low reading scores, the old facilities, the high teacher turnover rate, the overcrowded classroom, the low aspiration level, the high frequency of disciplinary problems, along with the growing sense of the utter futility of the educational enterprise as it relates to the needs of the masses of the Black poor who reside in our central cities.

"These problems have been laid at the doorsteps of those who plan for and administer the public schools."[39]

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[34] John H. Fischer, "Schools for Equal Opportunity," *The Schoolhouse in the City*, by Alvin Toffler, (New York: Frederick Praeger Publishers, 1968), p. 143.

[35] Meyer Weinberg, *Integrated Education*, (Beverly Hills, California: The Glencoe Press, 1968), p. iii.

[36] William H. Grier, Price M. Cobbs, *Black Rage*, (New York: Basic Book, Inc., Publishers, 1968), pp. 132–133.

[37] Whitney M. Young, Jr., *To Be Equal*, (New York: McGraw Hill Co., 1964), p. 102.

[38] Stokely Carmichael, Charles Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1967), pp. 9–10.

[39] Nathan Wright, Jr., *Black Power and Urban Unrest*, (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1967), p. 71.

Earl Kelley, in his criticisms of the educational system, stated:

"If we have this lack of understanding of the nature of democratic living, wherein lies the failure in our preparation of youth for citizenship?

"Much of the blame must be charged to the public schools. It is true that a young man or a young woman is a product of many influences of which the school is only one, but the great public school system, 'the backbone of our civilization,' 'the foundation of the republic' had and has as one of its tasks that of building citizens." [40]

Continuing in a treatise on how teachers were not doing their part to instill the democratic way of life, he stated:

"We have teachers, however, who sneer at colleagues who try to introduce some democratic living in their classes. They block attempts to arrange any participation by students in the affairs of the school. They proclaim that no little brat is going to tell them what to do. They say 'I've tried democracy, but it doesn't work,'" [41]

In 1970, the White House Conference on Children was held in Washington, D.C. The basic thrust of this conference as stated in the program was:

"The White House Conference will deal with issues from a perspective which relates to the feelings and needs of the child." [42]

There were many forums that dealt with many issues. One of these forums dealt with the issue of confronting myths in educaiton. This important conference summarized a national feeling toward education when it was stated:

"The curriculum, the objectives, and the structure of our present educational system are products of another age—response to the needs of a society immersed in the rapid transition from rural/agricultural to urban/industrial life styles.

"Today, education in America must meet new needs as our society makes a second major transition into an era of high mobility and instantaneous communication—an era which each day will bring us closer to Marshall McLuhan's 'global village.'

"Much of our education system has failed to meet the challenges presented by this rapid transformation. We believe that our educational mythology severely inhibits ability to respond to the new demands and that confrontation of these assumptions is the first prerequisite to reform. Too long have our children been learning in spite of, rather than because of our efforts; it is imperative to reverse this trend." [43]

The intent of this section of Chapter II was to examine the "organizational health" of the public school systems. The information, of course, is mixed between people who believe that the schools are doing a good job, to the people who believe that the schools are doing all that they could be expected to do, all the way to the opposite end of the continuum where the majority of the critics who are quoted in this section say that the schools are doing a poor job. The great many failures of social institutions and the deluge of citizen indifference to social institutions lead this writer to believe that the schools are failing. Failing in the original goal as stated by Silberman in an earlier quote—"education is defined somewhat more narrowly as the deliberate or purposeful creation, evocation, or transmission of knowledge, skills and values." [44]

Therefore, the health of the organization is not good and it must find ways to change, reform itself, or one may readily see the death of the institution known as the public school.

LITERATURE RELATED TO EDUCATIONAL REFORM

The word reform is relative only if it is believed that reform is necessary. The previous section developed the weaknesses and criticism of education. This section will deal with the suggestions for the reform of the public educational system.

The writer interprets reform to mean to take something that exists and to change the parts or components in some way so that the mission can be more easily accomplished. A flexible organization, of which there are very few, must be able to adjust periodically. A social "institution" must be able to adjust to the needs of its related counterpart, the society. The very nature of our bureaucratic social organizations today makes it difficult for them to change. They are so structured that the people they employ fight every possible attempt to change them. The reform of one of these organizations might mean the loss of a job to the people it employs. Therefore, survival comes into play for the people being threatened and regardless of the need for change, which possibly even the people see internally, little change can easily be made. Most of the social organizations such as the church, the school, the government, etc., fall into the problem previously described.

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[40] Earl C. Kelley, *In Defense of Youth,* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1962), pp. 45–46.

[41] *Ibid.,* p. 48.

[42] The Program of the *1970 White House Conference on Children* is a document that is unpublished except for Conference participants.

[43] From summaries of reports of *1970 White House Conference on Children.* This is an unpublished document.

[44] *Op. cit.,* p. 6.

What are the viable alternatives to reform? There are very few. One is to completely destroy the institution and build another new vehicle to do the job. This, of course, sounds interesting until one takes a closer look at it. The new organization could not take a thrust too far away from the thrust of the old or it would not be serving a similar purpose. If it serves a similar purpose it must develop a staff of people to carry out its new responsibility. The people who know most about the activity are people who have had some experience with it and so, logically, they are given the jobs. Now the old actors are in new roles, which are not clearly defined typically, and which they will not know how to play. So without direction these people will begin to play these roles just as they played before; the organization has not made a significant change. If one could start off with fresh people who had no connection with the past, then there is a possibility for success. However, this would be difficult for two reasons: One, most all people in the society, due to normal social interaction, know something about the existing organization if it is their professional area of expertise. Therefore, they are affected. Two, all social organizations need to work to stay in tune, or in touch with the people, clientele, or constituency that they serve. So, if the people who are selected for the new organization could be chosen from a group which had no contact with the people in this society, it would make it difficult for them to maintain the contact necessary for relevance.

Therefore, the two possibilities are reform or complete annihilation of a social institution. It is easy to see why the former is chosen over the latter and that therefore reform may be the only viable alternative.

The 1970 White House Conference on Children[45] spent a great amount of time speaking to the question of educational reform. The forum dealing with the topic of confronting myths in education made this a part of their report: "In the face of the mythological obstacle course facing those who see the urgent need for educational reform, what can be realistically suggested?"

"We must encourage with a powerful sense of urgency alternative educational models. 'The One Best Way' myth leads us on an endless search for perfection, at the cost of many useful sub-systems and alternatives discarded simply because they fail to address themselves simultaneously to all our concerns. The plain truth is that no magic formula exists which will make everything better. Students do not learn identically. Instead of knocking off the individual sharp edges, we should move in an opposite direction by making our schools fluid enough to accommodate individual differences in style, attitude and readiness. Let us move toward a multi-faceted educational system incorporating what we know of human diversity, with mechanisms for choice and change."[46]

This particular analysis from the 1970 White House Conference deals more with change in the educational process rather than change in the structure. This is where we find a dichotomous position taken by the different writers.

Writers such as Pierce[47] and Miles[48] believe that we cannot change the internal process unless we first of all change the structure. The point analogously more clear is that it is difficult to change the activities within a house until you change the wall, the roof, etc. There are others who could care less about changing the structure because they feel it is too difficult to change but that it is possible within the confines of the structure to change the process, the process basically being that of educating the children.

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[45] *Op cit.*, p. 6.

[46] From summaries of reports of the *1970 White House Conference on Children*. This is an unpublished document except for Conference participants.

[47] Truman M. Pierce, *Educational Change and the Role of Media* (a report of the Symposium on Identifying Techniques and Principles of Gaining Acceptance of Research Results of Use of New Media in Education, held at Lincoln, Nebraska, 1963), pp. 138–153.

[48] *Op. cit.*, pp. 11–34.

Mario Fantini, who basically identifies with the group suggesting reform of the institution, makes the following statements: "The widely used terms 'culturally deprived' and 'culturally disadvantaged' implied that there was something wrong with the learner, with his cultural environment, not with the school and its educational process. In short, we assumed that the problem was with the student, not the school, with the client rather than the institution." [49]

He further states: "We are asking public schools to be the major instruments in solving many of our most acute social ills—poverty, racism, alienation, powerlessness—and at the same time, to respond to manpower needs of an advanced technological society. The basic change for the 1970's, then, is institutional reform." [50]

Fantini continues in his call for reform to make suggestions about specific areas for reform. He suggests that there are three areas that must be reformed: "Governance—There must be a shift from professional dominance to a meaningful parental and community role in the educational process; Substance—We must modify the skill-performance standards by which educational quality is measured primarily so that a humanistically oriented curriculum can evolve; Personnel—The education system must be opened to a far broader base of talent than the conventionally prepared career educator." [51]

In 1968, in a pamphlet printed by the Ford Foundation, titled *Alternatives for Urban School Reform*, Fantini stated, "The positive aspects of this kind of public control are more difficult to perceive. One possibility is that under the right conditions real public control of public education could provide more effective education." [52]

Fantini's suggestions for reform in the area of governance are echoed by many writers. Wilcox speaks of community control as a governance reform vehicle when he states:

"The thrust for control over ghetto schools by local residents represents at its deepest level a desire by the Black and poor to become effective contributors to the common good. This view may be surprising to some, but it is a reasonable and democratic response to the failure of school systems across the country." [53]

Donald Smith develops the area of the change in the education process. He talks about the incredibility of the fact that young Black people have to threaten and even sometimes bring about the destruction of the school to get the attenion of the society, both outside and inside the schools. Smith suggests three basic things that Black students want in school reform:

"First, what Black pupils want and need are teachers who believe they can learn, who expect them to learn, and who teach them; second, Black pupils need a curriculum that will release them from psychological captivity; as a concommitant to curriculum which is meaningful and inspiring, Black pupils want to be taught and administered by models with whom they can identify and from whom they can derive feelings of pride and worth." [54]

Dr. Smith deals with a very important area in the push toward reform. This is the area of seeing approaches through the eyes of the young, the people for whom the schools were developed. Listening to the young, particularly those who the schools are serving in the poorest manner. This listening and learning from the young is suggested by Margaret Meade when she develops the continuum from the post-figurative culture to the pre-figurative culture. She states: "—prefigurative, in which adults learn also from their children—is a reflection of the period in which we live." [55]

Newman and Oliver, in their treatise on Education and the Community, develop three basic patterns of reform to follow; conventional reform, radical reform, and a proposal for Education in Community. They conclude by saying: "The deliberate effort to view education in the community from three vantage points and to look for contexts, outside of the formal school, where people learn is only the first step in any important effort at educational reform—but it is the hardest. After one wrenches oneself loose from the paralyzingly constricted posture that all true education must be programmed, planned and compulsory, and public and it must all happen in schools, one's imagination trips over a host of exciting places for youth and adults to learn, by themselves, and in association with one another."[56]

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[49] Mario Fantini, "Educational Agenda for the 1970's and Beyond: Public School of Choice," *Social Policy*, (November, December, 1970), p. 25.

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 25–26.

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27.

[52] Mario Fantini, *Alternatives for Urban School Reform*, (New York: Ford Foundation, 1968), p. 1.

[53] Preston Wilcox, "The Thrust Toward Community Control of the Schools in Communities," from *Racial Crisis in American Education*, ed., by Robert L. Green, (Chicago: Follett Education Corp., 1969), p. 315.

[54] Donald H. Smith, "The Black Revolution and Education," from *Racial Crisis in American Education*, ed. by Robert L. Green, (Chicago: Follett Education Corp., 1969), pp. 64–67.

[55] Margaret Mead, *Culture and Commitment: A Study of the Generation Gap Preface*, (New York: Natural History Press/Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1970).

Kenneth Clark suggests that there are viable alternatives to the present public school system and that these must be explored. He suggests several of these alternatives such as "Regional State Schools," "Federal Regional Schools," "College and University-Related Open Schools," "Industrial Demonstration Schools," "Labor Union Sponsored Schools," and finally "Army Schools." He concludes by saying: "If we succeed in finding and developing these and better alternatives to the present educational inefficiency, we will not only save countless Negro children from lives of despair and hopelessness and thousands and thousands of white children from cynicism, moral emptiness and social ineptness—but we will also demonstrate the validity of our democratic promises."[57]

Some writers such as Charles Hamilton deal more directly with reform which gets at the education problem in the ghetto. He suggests a model which views the ghetto school as the focal point of community life. The educational system should be concerned with the entire family, not simply with the children. We should think of a comprehensive family-community-school plan with black parents attending classes, taking an active day-to-day part in the operation of the school."[58]

Harold and Beatrice Gross refer to school reform in a more comprehensive context when they suggest that the theory of reform cannot stop with the institutional framework of schooling, moreover it must attempt to define the quality of life within the classroom in terms of the two most important qualities, freedom and relevance. They interpret the difference between radical school reform and innovation in this manner: "Radical reform of schooling—as distinguished from mere innovation in the organization or context of instruction—demands that basic postulates be reexamined, challenged, and where necessary, replaced."[59]

They continue by asking these searching questions: "Is formal education necessary or desirable? Should there be schools? Should education be compulsory? Should teachers and school administrators run the schools? Should there be a curriculum? Should there be goals of education which are considered applicable to all normal children?"[60]

Growing out of the move for meaningful community involvement voiced by such previously quoted writers as Wilcox, Newman, and Oliver, there comes the exploration of the concepts of community control and decentralization. Green speaks to community control when he says: "There is a sense in which the problems of education in our own day have to do not simply with what policies should be aodpted by the educational system, but with what kind of system should be adopted within which to debate questions of policy. When questions are raised concerning the very structure of the school system, the way authority is distributed within it, the role of the professional, the role of the community, and indeed the very purposes of the school, then clearly we are dealing with matters more fundamental than mere policy. . . . For the first time in many years, practical proposals have been made—and acted upon—which, though aimed at reform of urban schools, have been focused on change in the control of local schools. . . . Proponents of reform, therefore, argue that a significant degree of effective control should be lodged directly in the community—in the local people nominally served by the school."[61]

The most publicized experiment of community control came about in Brooklyn in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district in 1966. This was an experiment in school reform via the vehicle of community control of schools. The Board of Education bought this idea and gave their stamp to it calling it "a new approach to relations between the community and education system." The success or failure of this experiment is dependent totally upon the person analyzing the outcome. Rhody McCoy, Superintendent of the I.S. 201 District, might give you one version of the activity where Albert Shanker, President of the New York Federation of Teachers could interpret it in another way. The basic confrontation was between an approach to reform the educational system and the entrenched educational establishment.

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[56] Fred M. Newman and Donald W. Oliver, "Education and Community," *Harvard Educational Review*, (Reprint Series No. 3, 1969), p. 43.

[57] Kenneth R. Clark, "Alternative Public School Systems," from *Radical School Reform*, ed. by Ronald Gross and Beatrice Gross (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969), p. 125.

[58] Charles V. Hamilton, "Education: A Search for Legitimacy," *Harvard Educational Review*, (Reprint Series No. 3, 1969), p. 60.

[59] Ronald Gross and Beatrice Gross, *Radical School Reform*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969), p. 95.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 95

[61] Thomas G. Green, "Schools and Communities: A Look Forward," *Harvard Educational Review*, (Spring, 1969), pp. 224–226.

The concept of decentralization has been explored now in two major cities as an approach to educational reform. New York had a plan submitted in 1967 and Detroit had a plan developed and submitted in 1970. The Detroit Plan[62] which is most recent, was implemented in January, 1971. This plan, which was developed through a grant from the Ford Foundation[63] reorganized the city into eight regional districts with a certain amount of autonomy left to the regions for decision making. The problems in the development of the Plan are clearly stated in a documentary video-tape[64] which was developed near the end of the plan of development. The majority of the problems stemmed from the interaction between the ideas generated by the coordinators of the project in cooperation with the community and the educational establishment.

Alvin Toffler, in his most recent best seller, *Future Shock*, talks about the problem of the present curriculum imposing a standardization on all children. The school curriculum of the future must be child-centered, problem-centered and future-centered. He suggests that: "A fight must also be waged to alter the balance between standardization and variety in the curriculum."[65]

In summary, there are many suggestions for the reform of public schools. Constantly, there are references to the protection that the education establishment develops to perpetuate its existence. The question still looms as to whether the education establishment should be destroyed or reformed. Most of the writers quoted in this section agree that a reformation is possible. The reformation, however, must be centered around changing the system rather than changing the child as stated earlier by Fantini. The child must be free to make decisions about his fate and as Margaret Meade says, the adults must be willing to listen and to learn from the young. The approaches to achieving this are certainly not clear. However, to free the young so that they might be able to determine their future, the future of this nation and the future of the world, we must find a vehicle that will more finitely clarify their rights and responsibilities as individuals in this society.

LITERATURE ON STUDENTS' RIGHTS

The fourth section of Chapter II will deal with the literature in one new area of concern in relation to the schools of this country. Even though there may be many vectoring concerns, the central thrust of this dissertation is in this area of student rights. The question that looms prominent in the minds of educators and lawyers is, are there two sets of standards for dealing with citizens? One set is operative when a person reaches the age of 18 or 21 and the other is operative prior to that time or when a person is in his more formative years. This relates more directly to the rights that a young person has when he is attending the social institution known as the public school.

The void in rights given to students and rights given to other suppressed peoples is comparable. This feeling of oppression is surfaced latently in the student rebellions, both at the high school and junior high levels. This pattern of rebellion is the same throughout the history of man. When man is denied the rights afforded to other people then he finds a way to gain those rights denied.

Frantz Fanon, an Algerian psychiatrist, explains the basic thought in this way: "The colonized peoples have generally recognized themselves in each of the movements, in each of the revolutions set into motion and carried through by the oppressed. Beyond the necessary solidarity with the men who, throughout the earth, are fighting for democracy and respect for their rights, there has been imposed, with unaccustomed violence, the firm decision of the colonized peoples to want for themselves and their brothers, the recognition of their national existence, of their existence as members of an independent, free and sovereign state.

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[62] Guidelines for School Decentralization, Detroit Public Schools, (Detroit: Detroit Board of Education, 1970), unpublished.

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] Larry W. Hillman and Roger A. DeMont, "School Decentralization: The Detroit Story." (Detroit: Wayne State University Center for Instructional Technology, 1970); a 48-minute video tape. Tape No. 456.

[65] Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock,* (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 34.

"For many years, the history of the world, the history of men's struggle for dignity, has confronted peoples with definite problems. Men enslaved and oppressed by foreign nations are invited today to participate totally in the work of demolition of the colonial system . . .

"It is essential that the oppressed peoples join up with the peoples who are already sovereign if a humanism that can be considered valid is to be built to the dimensions of the universe."[66]

Fanon was talking about oppression in general and how man realizing his dilemma must find a way to break out. Malcolm X explains the frustration of one not realizing his independence and always relying on the other people to do his thinking when he explained: "One of the first things I think young people, especially nowadays, should learn, is how to see for yourself and listen for yourself and think for yourself. Then you can come to an intelligent decision for yourself. If you form the habit of going by what you hear others say about someone, or going by what others think about someone, instead of searching that thing out for yourself, and seeing for yourself, you will be walking west when you think you are going east, and you will be walking east when you think you are going west. The generation, especially of our people, has a burden, more so than at any other time in history. The most important thing that we can learn to do today is think for ourselves. . . ."

"But if you form the habit of taking what someone else says about a thing without checking it out for yourself, you will find that other people will have you hating your friends and loving your enemies . . . It is very important to think out a situation for yourselves."[67]

Malcolm X was in the process of telling young people, who had sought him out in their quest for great knowledge, that the great truth man must strive to gain for himself. This information, which is sound and basic in the growth of young people also pushes many to challenge the authority of the people in charge of the institutions. William O. Douglass spoke to this when he said: "The search of the young today is more specific than the ancient search for the Holy Grail. The search of the youth today is for ways and means to make the machine—and the vast bureaucracy of the corporation state and of the government that runs that machine—the servant of man.

"This is the revolution that is coming."[68] The student awakening as spoken about by Douglass might give an indication that modern day education has either by design or by accident caused the young to begin to think for themselves and in the process challenge the institutions that spawned them. Saul Alinsky quoted Jefferson and possibly portrayed this change: "Enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppression of body and mind will vanish like spirits at the dawn of day."[69]

David Romano, an eighteen year old student from Connecticut spoke to the awakening of students of today. "Students are waking up to realize their own capacity to govern themselves. We don't need the remote principals and assistant principals to tell us what to do. After all, who knows us better, they or ourselves. I think students should be equal to that of any other participating group in the school—the teachers and the administration. I think students should be given a voice in the choosing of curriculum. Students should be able to influence the assignment of teachers to different courses. Students, I think, are in a much better position than anyone else to decide which teachers are suited for which courses. If assignments were done on that basis, they would probably result in determining which teachers were hired and fired because of student interest. Critics of 'student power' claim that students are not responsible enough to make such critical decisions, and that such evaluations of teachers would deteriorate into popularity contests. While I don't believe this would be the case, it still would be better than what we have today. If a student at least had a teacher whom he likes, then he would go to class and most probably learn something."[70]

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[66] Frantz Fanon, *Toward the African Revolution,* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), pp. 113–114.

[67] Malcolm X, "To Mississippi Youth," from *Malcolm X Speaks,* ed. by George Breitman, (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1965), pp. 137–138.

[68] William O. Douglas, *Points of Rebellion,* (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), p. 96.

[69] Saul D. Alinsky, *Reveille for Radicals,* (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), p. 154.

David Romano as a young man was speaking the language that has been voiced by many students throughout the world. The young people, as they express themselves, are tugging at the chains they see oppressing them. Students in Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe and the U.S.A. have made their impact. It is more noticeable that they have played their most striking role in the advanced industrial countries, whether they are capitalistic or socialistic.

Gareth Jones asks the questions, "What is the sociological character of a student movement? And what have been the causes of the great international upsurge of the last few years?"[71] Jones goes on to an explanation of the nature of students and their unrest. He explains the theory that the mass action of students is comparable to the traditional poor of the nineteenth century during the first devastating impact of industrialization. "The contradictory mixtures of apathy and fiery insurgence, of utopianism and the conservative defiance of vested interests, consequently bear resemblance to the social characteristics of the working class in the first phase of industrialization. In both cases, the aim of the radical movements are 'expressive' rather than 'instrumental.' But this confusion in no way diminishes its significance."[72]

The opposing theory is one which is espoused by bureaucratic orthodoxy in the East and which lingers among sectarian currents of the socialist movement in the West. "According to this interpretation, students are a traditional elite group, overwhelmingly bourgeois or petit-bourgeois by recruitment and outlook and therefore ultimately a trivial or reactionary force.[73]

"A scientific explanation of the international student revolt must account for the specific concentration of causes that have combined to produce it. There is no one master explanation of this phenomenon. On the contrary, mass student insurgency is par excellence an 'overdetermined' phenomenon. Three major forces have been at work. Together they have produced the contemporary structure of the student movement."[74]

One of these forces has been the increased intellectualism in this country. Labor has become more intellectually oriented rather than muscle oriented. The student is in a position to better evaluate what the future will hold as he sees himself fitting into these jobs, some of which he believes are perpetuating the values of a capitalistic society.

The second force was the "political reversal of values"[75] as defined by the Cold War.

This conflict which paraded the threatening aspects of Russia and Communism and developed the conflict between the USA and USSR. As the conflict grew, it developed into peaceful coexistence.

"The new conflict was no longer a competition between false equals, which threatened the world with a nuclear war; it was a struggle between manifestly unequal forces—starving and exploited peasants and workers in the underdeveloped world."[76] The truth of this society was exploited for all to see, especially the young, as the liberal pluralistic democracy which had been so celebrated by patriots during the Cold War, now began to be revealed as the Military juggernaut responsible for untold death and destruction in Viet Nam. This, coupled with the observations of bureaucratic manipulation and oppression at home, brought about frustration of the young about the system.

The third force which is more easily explained is the growing gap between the generations." Intellectual and cultural advance is so rapid now in many subjects that communication between age groups separated by decades is becoming as difficult as it previously was between epochs."[77]

These three forces have caused students to awaken and begin to strive for an equality that they had never thought of before. They perceived the building of a new nation which they could dedicate to the original purposes for which this nation was established. It is true that the student movement in America is just now beginning, and it is impossible to predict its future course.

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[70] David Romano, "I Saw America in the Streets," from *The High School Revolution*, ed. by Marc Libarle and Tom Seligson, (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), p. 4.

[71] Gareth Stedman Jones, "The Meaning of the Student Revolt," from *Student Power: Problems, Diagnosis, Action*, ed. by Alexander Cockburn and Robin Blackburn, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 25.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[74] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

One of the main areas that the student movement has turned to is the settlement of the problem of affording to students the same legal rights that all citizens enjoy. "No other section of the adult population is subject to a special extra-legal moral code. There is no reason why students should be an exception. They should be responsible for their conduct like anyone else—before the Civil Courts only." [78]

This kind of student thinking and subsequent behavior brings about different kinds of activities in the schools. "Recent court decisions have trended in the direction of restraining the school from exercising many of the forms of control over student conduct which it and the community formerly accepted as normal and proper. But whatever the reasons for the legal actions may be and whatever their outcomes are, the impact of Court decisions relating to the control of student behavior is felt more immediately by the building principal than by anyone else in the administrative or teaching hierarchy." [79] The principal is in a position to have to deal more directly with issues as they are interpreted.

The Tinker Case [80] affirmed the constitutional rights of students to the freedom of expression. The court declared that state-operated schools "may not be enclaves of totalitarianism" and that students may not be confined to the expression of those sentiments that are officially approved. As examples of behavior which schools could not constitutionally prohibit, the court listed, personal intercommunication, departures from absolute regimentation, demonstrations, variations from majority opinion, behavior causing discussions outside classrooms and expressions of opinion which cannot reasonably be expected to substantially interfere with the work of the school or impinge on the rights of others. "In fact, no expression may be prohibited unless school officials can make a reasonable forecast that the expression will cause a substantial disruption or a material interference with school activities.

There has been almost a half-hearted attempt to involve students in the decision-making process. Many times only after violence is the student directly involved, and then grudgingly. Barbara Bryant states:

"Students want to be involved in decision-making about the school matters which immediately affect their lives: curricula, discipline, dress code, rules of conduct. They are seeking involvement, but not full control of these matters. When they are left out of decision-making, when a school administration does not communicate with them, they are finding demonstrations a very effective means by which to bring change in their high schools." [81]

These students have very definite ideas and opinions on the key political and social issues of today and look for school platforms from which they might discuss them.

Where do students learn how to be adults and to take on adult behavior? The socialization of a young person is a very delicate process and much care must be taken to make sure that nothing is left out. One of the problems in this society is that one cannot be sure of all the necessary ingredients for socialization. The experience has been that it is more obvious when a person becomes an adult to see that he is not completely socialized by observation of deviant behavior as compared to acceptable social norms. Then the process is to determine what has been missed and try to give this to him.

Programs such as prison rehabilitation, Headstart and Compensatory education are good examples. Therefore, it is important that all ingredients necessary for a complete life be explored and that all of these be put together for the socialization process. Anything that is left out could produce social deviants and a malfunctioning society.

Jennings and Niemi "take issue with the widely accepted developmental model which suggests that almost all of the political socialization occurs in the elementary school years." [82] They found that generally modifications and reorientations appear to occur in the first decade or so of adult life, but that some changes do take place in the high school years. Speaking of the high school years and thereafter, they said, "There is a movement from a restricted status of token legal rights and few political responsibilities into a status carrying the normal expectations of adult citizenry." [83]

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[78] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[79] The National Association of Secondary School Principals, *The Reasonable Exercise of Authority*, (Washington, D.C.: NASSP, 1969), p. 2.

[80] Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District, 393 U.S. 503 (1969).

[81] Barbara Everett Bryant, *High School Students Look at Their World*, (Columbus, Ohio: R. H. Goettler and Associates, 1970), p. 1.

[82] M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "Patterns of Political Learning," *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 38, No. 3 (Summer, 1968), p. 443.

This research supported the Tinker case in which students were referred to as "persons." Berman states, "For most of our history education was likened to a chemical change; students were viewed as inert elements easily molded by an educational system political in its goals. Behind the alarmed tone of the judge—is the realization that the periodic table of American education has turned. Students, suddenly volatile, are no longer willing to be acted upon. Uniformity and compliance cannot be achieved where there is active resistance—it is clear the big change has already occurred: students have become active determinants of educational purpose both in law and in fact." [84]

Van Roy Wu,[85] in a speech to the National Federation of educators made efforts to clarify the student activism movement and the support from the courts. He pointed to the statute found in New York criminal law which forbade, "Under penalty of appropriate legal action, the cruel and inhuman treatment of minors." The law continued to explain that no minor shall have inflicted upon his person any injury or duress due to the action of any other individual. A parent in Nassau County, New York, used this statute to obtain an injunction to keep the schools from retaining his child in the third grade. The court refused this injunction; however, Mr. Holtzman initiated a formal complaint and requested that the principal be arrested for violation of the state criminal code. A grand jury's decision was that there were sufficient grounds to warrant legal action and ordered the principal to appear in court for trial. Upon advice of counsel the principal pleaded guilty at the pre-trial hearing and was found guilty and fined one dollar. This decision touched off a flood of complaints under the "injury and duress" clause in New York and under similar clauses in other states. All these "claiming that archaic curriculum content did 'injury' to children or that traditional teaching techniques were injurious and placed children under duress." [86]

Even though Wu was projecting the future in his speech, the past clearly points the way to realization of some of his predictions.

The American Civil Liberties Union in one of its many position papers attempts to clarify the concept of freedom and order and the issue of procedural rights for students. "No one disputes the power of school authorities to prescribe and control conduct in the schools, just as no one disputes the power of legislatures to prescribe and control conduct in the larger society. But in both cases such powers are limited by the Bill of Rights; no public official may exercise authority that is inconsistent with fundamental constitutional safeguards. And in America for nearly two hundred years those limits have been essentially defined in the Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights, however, has not been traditionally applied to public schools, and until recently the power of school authorities to control the conduct of public school students has been relatively unlimited." [87]

The procedural rights outlined by the ACLU are very pertinent to this presentation. They allow examination of certain elementary rights that need to be guaranteed if the actions taken are to contain the basic elements of due process.

ACLU Student Bill of Rights: [88]

(1) The right to adequate notice of rules and regulations, and the penalties which may be imposed for violations thereof.

(2) The right to a fair hearing *prior* to suspension, expulsion, transfer or any other serious sanction.

(3) The right to counsel at all disciplinary proceedings which may have serious consequences.

(4) The right to counsel for those who cannot afford counsel.

(5) The right to confront the evidence against you, including the right of parents to see at any time and challenge their children's individual records.

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[83] *Ibid.*, p. 467.

[84] Richard L. Berman, "Students in Courts," *Harvard Educational Review*, vol. 49, No. 4 (November, 1970), pp. 594–595.

[85] Theodore C. Roth, "The Origins of Judicial Control of Public Education," *The National Elementary Principal*, vol. L, No. 1 (September, 1970), pp. 20–23.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[87] Ira Glasser, "A Student Bill of Rights," A New York Civil Liberties Union Memorandum, (New York: August 5, 1969), p. 1 (Unpublished).

[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 6–9.

(6) The right to confront complainants, call friendly witnesses, and cross-examine hostile ones.

(7) The right to an impartial hearing examiner such as those afforded teachers facing dismissal.

(8) The right to an effective appeal from the decision of a disciplinary hearing, including the right to a transcript.

(9) The right to be free from forced self-incrimination.

(10) The right to be free from arbitary and general searches.

(11) The right to be free from illegal use of police by school officials as an adjunct to their own authority, in the absence of any crime or threat of crime.

(12) The right of students and their parents to file complaints against school officials before an independent panel.

The ACLU reaffirms this in a later document as it spoke to the Civil Liberties of children in the elementary schools. "There are two especially compelling reasons why it is important for civil liberties to be respected in the elementary schools:

"First, since the state compels children to attend elementary school while they are still relatively weak and easily intimidated, their rights as citizens and their other civil liberties are particularly vulnerable to infringement there. This fact is not altered by the good intentions of most of those in charge of the schools.

Second, it is in elementary school that children have the first close, continuing contact with a formal organization and formal authority, and they are likely to learn unconscious attitudes toward liberty and authority that will stay with them throughout their lives. Thus, their early experience in school is crucial for the future of American liberties." [89]

The point clearly made is the importance of the public schools seeing that they can, through their actions, establish the patterns and beliefs of these young people.

Andes called attention to due process in a book giving directions to administrators. "Once a student has been formally notified of a charge against him, the status of the student should not be altered, nor should he be suspended from classes or from the campus, except for reasons which can be shown to be detrimental either to his person or the person of other students, faculty, or to school property.

"That this procedure of 'due process' seems to limit and restrict the school administration, may cause concern on the part of many administrators. The function of 'due process' is to limit only capricious and arbitrary power of an administrator, however. 'Due Process' is designed to protect the rights and privileges of a student and these procedures should be interpreted in this light and function." [90]

Ladd, a professor from a southern university, in a presentation on 'due process' before the 1971 AASA Convention, closed his speech by saying that: ". . . It is probably a good idea for the main work in designating a new school-student relationship providing for due process to be done by full-time practicing educators rather than full-time administrators. It is very important that it not be done chiefly by lawyers and judges. Educators are people who should know what model would be educationally the soundest, and I urge you to put such people to work designing; then, if you are required to present these procedures to the courts to be reviewed for legal acceptability." [91]

Have the schools been teaching more about democracy to the students than they thought? Is the student push for rights an outgrowth of the school's teachings on democracy? Diane Divokey speaks to this in the *Saturday Review*. "The revolt itself testifies that students have been learning more than the schools have taught: from parents who are as well or better educated than teachers; from actual participation in and the culture of the society. To accept this knowledge and experience means facing up to a set of complicated problems. To deny it is to deny the students themselves." [92]

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[89] A Preliminary Statement on Civil Liberties of Children in Elementary Schools, prepared by the American Civil Liberties Union (New York, 1970), pp. 1–2 (Unpublished).

[90] John Andes, "Designing Policies Governing Student Activities," from *Constitutional Rights of Students*, ed. by Kern Alexander and James Campbell, (Gainesville, Florida: 1969), p. 111.

[91] Edward T. Ladd, "Due Process for Students in Public Schools," A paper presented to the American Association of School Administrators Convention in Atlantic City, February 23, 1971. (Unpublished).

[92] Diane Divokey, "Revolt in the High Schools: The Way It's Going to Be," *Saturday Review*, (February 15, 1969), p. 102.

The trend toward affording equal rights for students has been fairly well established. However, the movement and the final securing of these rights are two different things. The courts have determined cases in the areas of freedom of expression,[93] personal rights,[94] procedural due process,[95] marriage and pregnancy,[96] police and schools.[97] These cases have helped the schools see their responsibility. However, for rights to be insured, it is important for all parties to understand their rights.

John Saunders, Program Officer, Office of the Secretary, Center for Community Planning, DHEW, said in a speech presented in 1970 that, "I am not a lawyer and the Office of Education is not charged with a responsibility of interpreting the Constitution, the Bill of Rights or the increasing body of legal precedents that affect students.

"I am an educator and I am basically concerned with a very central and salient issue: that all our children, wherever they live, have an equal opportunity to pursue an education, and exploit that education to the best of their abilities.

Anything . . . anything that stands in the way of that objective must be struck down, be it racial isolation, inadequate facilities, poor instruction, or the inability of school officials to work with students for crucial and long overdue changes." [98]

Cahn and Cahn in attempting to determine the delivery system for students rights, stated: "In the context of education, for example, the question is whether effective legal advocacy combined with an independent grievance mechanism within the school system can shield a child from institutional practices which have long demonstrated their capacity to retard, discourage and destroy a child's sense of confidence and his capacity to perform. Thus, one formulation of the role of the law in education might be to protect the presumption of educability of a child, just as in the criminal law, it protects the presumption of innocence. In short, law might no longer permit the school system, like a prosecutor, to pronounce a verdict of guilty and a sentence at failure, retardation, or drop-out. Instead, the school system might be required to bear the burden of proof each step of the way, at each moment when it sits in judgment on a child's attitude or performance or capacity." [99]

The developing revolution of students is part of the new American revolution. Reich, in his new best seller, *The Greening of America*, states this very aptly. "There is a revolution coming . . . This is the revolution of the new generation. Their protest and rebellion, their culture, clothes, music, drugs, ways of thought, and liberated life-style are not a passing fad or a form of dissent and refusal, nor are they in any sense irrational. The whole emerging pattern, from ideals to campus demonstrations, to beads and bell bottoms, to the Woodstock Festival, makes sense and is part of a consistent philosophy." [100]

The public schools must find ways to deal with this revolution and must find a mechanism which will insure student rights.

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- *Miranda* v. *Arizona*, 384 US 436 (1965)

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[93] Freedom of Expression: Scoville v. Board of Education of Joliet Township High School District 204.

[94] Griffin v. Tatum 1969; Richards v. Thurston 1970; Montalvo v. Madera Unified School District Board of Education; Jeffers v. Yuba City Unified School District 1970.

[95] Jones v. Gillespie, 1970; Owens v. Devlin; Andino v. Donovan, New York, 1969.

[96] Johnson v. Board of Education of the Borough of Paulsboro (N.J.), Perry v. Grenada Municipal Separate School District.

[97] Overton v. New York; Howard v. Clark.

[98] John Saunders, a speech delivered at the Advisory Board Meeting of the Center for the Study of Student Citizenship, Rights and responsibilities, December 9, 1970. (Unpublished).

[99] Edgar S. Cahn and Jean Camper Cahn, "Power to the People or the Profession?—The Public Interest in Public Interest Law," *The Yale Law Journal*, vol. 79, No. 6, (May 1970), pp. 1020–1021.

[100] Charles A. Reich, *The Greening of America*, (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 4.

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MACFARLANE SCHOOL STUDY, 1968

INTRODUCTION

Earlier this year, a series of questionnaires were given to students in grades Kindergarten through Eighth at the MacFarlane Elementary School. Other questionnaires were given to teachers at the school. A set of reading tests were administered to students in grade Four and in the summer program in grades Two and Four. As a result of this preliminary research effort, data has been collected and the purpose of this study is to analyze and interpret the information contained in the questionnaires and standardized tests.

AREAS COVERED IN THE STUDY

1. Student Questionnaires
    a. Test of Perceptions
    b. Survey of Attitudes
    c. Survey of Motivation (Job Survey)
2. Measures of Reading Ability and Progress
3. Teacher Evaluations of the MacFarlane School Program

Method Employed

A random sample of students at the MacFarlane School was drawn from the total registration and attendance lists. A random number table was used to select the sample of students in grades Kindergarten through Eighth. The student questionnaire was administered to those students in the sample who were available for testing. Although the original sample contained 123 students, only 71 students completed the forms.

The Gray Standardized Oral Reading Paragraphs Test was given to all Fourth grade students; however, absence from class and moves from the school district account in large measure for the smaller number of students who actually took the test. In all, 115 students out of a possible 156 registered students participated in the testing program.

Fourth graders participating in a summer reading program were given the Gray's Standardized Oral Reading Paragraphs reading abilities test, and 64 students completed the test. Another summer reading project was conducted using junior and senior students from Roosevelt High School. This program was offered to second graders and the California Reading Test was administered to 52 students.

A questionnaire testing occupational goals and projected income levels was given to 1266 MacFarlane students. The results of this job survey are included in this report.

Finally, teachers at the MacFarlane school were asked to evaluate the program of the institution with regard to (1) motivation, (2) learning, (3) discipline, (4) staff morale, and (5) self image. Moreover, teachers were asked to comment on the aspects of the institution which they favored and those which they disliked in a short survey conducted independently of the first evaluation.

Student Questionnaire—Analysis of Data

Introductory remarks

In order to be meaningful the findings indicated from the student questionnaire must be viewed in light of some of the problems attendant with the measure itself and the way in which it was administered. These problems are a normal function of an initial research work and help to provide cues for changes and improvement in future research designs.

First, asking students in an elementary school (which in this case includes grades Kindergarten through Eighth) to respond to general questions is at best a difficult problem. Therefore, it would be best if the responses within each grade level could be treated separately and then lumped together to form a total group profile. However, in spite of an adequate sampling, too few students in each grade level were able to fill out the questionnaire and this makes meaningful groupings somewhat more problematic. In most cases the responses of students were treated as reflections of the total group, with great caution being applied to responses which tended to raise questions about the definite direction of the responses.

Second, a simple listing of responses provides little clear cut indication of either attitude, perception, or even motivation. For this reason, the listing of responses is included in the appendix. It is possible to extract the essence of the meaning in many cases and the patterns and trends which the responses dictate are noted and expressed in an interpretated form.

Student Questionnaire—Analysis of Data

Definitions

For the purposes of this study, the following definitions have been used as the basis for categorizing questions and responses: (1) *attitudes* are one's feelings about a given issue, idea or object, (2) *perception* is used here in its narrow sense to include what one actually sees or hears in a given situation, and (3) *motivation* is linked to the goals toward which one strives.

Analysis of the Data

Student questionnaire (*May 1968*)

Essentially, the questionnaire is a survey of attitudes, motivation and perceptions. It represents an initial attempt to learn more about the ways in which students view the world around them, the ways in which they feel about themselves and others, and the goals and aspirations which they have for the future.

Perceptions

In testing the student's perception a question was asked in which students were required to name three Americans studied this year (Item 2). It is interesting to note that a wide variety of Black and White Americans were listed by the students and a surprising number were included, over all.

Both men and women were included in a remarkable number of different walks of life and these included politicians, athletes, explorers, patriots, entertainers, and scientists. Famous history figures were noted, along with contemporary members of the local Dayton community.

The name of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. is by far the most often mentioned along with such names as George Washington, Frederick Douglas, Abraham Lincoln, and George Washington Carver.

It is apparent that the students at MacFarlane are aware that both Black and White Americans have played an important part in our nation's history, as well as in our contemporary world.

Students were asked to identify whether or not they had seen signs which said: (Item 6 a,b,c) (1) Black is beautiful, (2) Be the best of whatever you are, and (3) Knowledge is power. The overwhelming majority of students indicated that they had in fact seen signs with these expressions on them (in each case over 88% of the students indicated they had seen the signs).

Of greater interest than the visual identification of the sayings is the meaning which students affix to the expressions themselves. In general students found it difficult to express the meaning they attach to these familiar sayings. Yet, some of the responses have a freshness and honesty which adds a new dimension to the meanings normally given to these sayings by adults, who themselves might find it difficult to explain what they actually mean.

For example, a little first grade girl commented that "Black is beautiful" means "I am beautiful to me," a young boy noted that Black is beautiful because "that is my color and I am proud of it because that is the way I was born."

Students in grades 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 were asked to name three speakers they had had this year. (Item 23) Students included the following names, in order of frequency: C. J. McLin, 11; Charles White, 10; Captain Astro, 8; no response, 8. In addition, over 29 other men and women were listed.

Attitudes

A number of questions were asked relating to the pride which students have in their school. From these questions it is apparent that students have a great deal of pride in their school. Most students (86.85) stated that it was not all right to throw papers on the floor, even though one might not get caught. (Item 8a) Students generally felt that others helped to keep the playground neat (80.9) (Item 8c) and that students did care if the halls were messy. (Item 8d)

A variation of this theme of school pride was a question which asked if three boys at MacFarlane got into trouble, would people think all the boys and girls at the school were bad. (Item 8n) There is a clear split in the students' response to this question, with 50% of the students saying it would be true that people would generalize and condemn the whole school for the actions of a few and 47.1% of the students believed that this would not reflect badly on the entire school. One question asked (Item 8b) students to comment on whether their homeroom looked better than other homerooms. Contrary to the pride the students have in their school, 64.6% of the students said that this was not true of their homeroom.

Self image is brought out in a number of ways in this questionnaire and it is significant to note that 89.5% of the boys and 93.3% of the girls feel that most other boys & girls in their classes like them. (Item 8g) When asked whether or not their homeroom teacher liked them 86.1% of the boys and 96.7% of the girls stated that they felt that their teacher liked them. (Item 17) Asked if they believed that Mr. Thomas, their Assistant Principal, liked them 77.8% of the boys and 100% of the girls indicated that they felt that he did like them. (Item 18)

Although there is a great deal more to self image than whether or not one is liked by peers, teachers and others, these questions did serve to highlight the degree to which students believed that they were popular with other people.

The students at MacFarlane School clearly indicate that they would like to have white friends, (Item 8f) with 67.6% of the group expressing this attitude. Whereas, at this time, 50% indicate that all of their friends are Black. (Item 8c)

When asked if Mr. Thomas likes white people, (Item 19) students responded by stating: (1) yes, he did like all white people (24.6%) (2) yes, some of them (61.5%) and (3) no, none of them (12.3%). There was 1.5% no response to this question.

Two of the questions posed to students require that the student relate himself to the role of the teacher and then make a determination of what would be an appropriate response to student behavior.

In one question students are asked to indicate how they would deal with noisy students and students who misbehave. (Item 13a) Interestingly enough, the response of the boys was quite different from that of the girls. Fifty-two and seven tenths per cent of the boys stated that they would yell at noisy students, while only 23.3% of the girls would react in this fashion. On the other hand, 73.7% of the boys would paddle students who misbehave and 93.3% of the girls would follow suit. (Item 13b)

Questions pertaining to how students would act if they were teachers dealing with students who did not walk on the proper side of the hall (Item 13c) indicated that 18.4% of the boys and 6.7% of the girls would let students walk on any side of the hall they wanted; obviously, the vast majority would insist that students walk on the right hand side.

Without dwelling on all of the sections of this question, it is fairly clear that the majority of students, placed in the role of the teacher would be strict disciplinaries and follow the procedure which currently exist in the institution.

The next set of questions relate to the way in which students feel about teachers and other adults at school disciplining their behavior. (Item 14) Attempting to gauge the response of students to this set of questions, one is immediately struck by the conflict which students appear to feel in responding to these questions and to the modes of discipline used. By and large students indicate that disciplinary actions do not bother them, yet most suggest that the consequences of disciplinary acts are to make them (the students) want to improve their performance. And, a sizable number of students indicate that discipliary actions directed at them tend to also make them feel badly, or feel that they are being picked on, or make them angry.

One of the questions related to violent versus non-violent response to a provocative situation. Students were asked what they would do if another student hit them (Item 9) and 19.1% indicated that they would feel like hitting the other student back, 4.5% would wait until after school to hit him, 59.6% would report the other student to the office, 14.6% would hit him right back and 2.2% did not respond.

Motivation

Motivation was related to occupational goals in three questions and students were asked what they would like to be when they left school. (Item 20) A wide range of choices were presented by the boys, generally they suggested occupational categories which call for a reasonably high level of skills. Among those occupations mentioned by boys were—

athletics (7)
professionals (9)
Military careers (3)
entertainers (2)
law enforcement officers (3)
businessman (2)
semi-skilled worker (8)
don't know (2)

The girls offered a surprisingly limited number of occupational choices. A teaching career was the most popular choice, with 19, nursing second (8) and two girls wanted to become secretaries. No girls indicated that they intended to become housewives or mothers.

(Item 22) Overwhelmingly, students stated that staying in school and getting an education were the ways in which these occupational goals could be reached.

Academic motivation was linked with whether or not students took books home with them after school and the type of subject area books which would be selected. (Item 1) Among those students who indicated they took books home, reading and spelling seemed to be the most popular. However, the majority of students chose not to take any books home. It is very likely that this question does not get at the information desired since in the lower grades there is much less occasion for taking books home.

Job survey

In the spring of 1968 a job survey was administered to 1266 MacFarlane students. The results and conclusions of this study were arrived at independently of this report and are simply presented here to provide additional information.

RESULTS

	Percent
Undecided	3.9
Unskilled labor (high school education)	18.8
Semiskilled	14.4
Skilled labor	30.3
Armed services	3.9
Professional	28.4

Unskilled.—No particular training after high school!—truck driver, etc.

Semiskilled.—Minimum training after high school. Example, bakers, any job that a person could be trained for in a two-week period.

Skilled labor.—Carpenters, plumbers, and those prepared to pass test for such jobs as fireman, postman, policeman, etc.

Armed Service.—Careers in same.

Professional.—Nurses, doctors, teachers, etc.

All students wanted and planned to finish high school. The undecided planned to finish high school with no definite plan for the future.

REQUIRED INCOME

The results on this shows that the students understood that it takes money to live even though they had no knowledge of what some jobs pay. Some students in the upper grades were involved in discussing the relationship between desired income and education.

INCOME DESIRED ACCORDING TO SURVEY

	Percent
Less than $5,000	14
$5,000 to $8,000	36
$8,000 to $10,000	37.3
Over $10,000	11.1
Not completed	1.6

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

More of our students need to be trained immediately after high school or during high school for jobs such as plumbers, carpenters, and in skills that provide a person with a good income. We need to encourage our students to work towards a goal and not always necessarily a college degree.

Measure of reading ability and progress

Gray's Standardized Oral Reading Paragraph test was administered to fourth graders in the fall and in the spring of this year. When the two sets of scores were compared, we found a mean improvement in reading ability of .8 or (8 months). This would appear to represent a normal level of progress in reading ability for the period between the two tests, which was slightly less than eight months.

In the summer reading program the Gray's Standardized Oral Reading Paragraphs test was also used and a mean improvement of .4 or (4 months) was noted. This progress represents a marked improvement during the summer months since more than four months of improvement was achieved in only six weeks.

The California Reading Test was administered to second grade students participating in a special summer program involving a large number of Junior and Senior students from Roosevelt High School as reading tutors. Among those tested, a 57.7% improvement was noted, with 32.7% registering no change and 9.6% showing a decrease in reading ability. However, it should be noted that the amount of decrease was only one month and this may be accounted for by the close proximity of the testing dates in the summer session. It, therefore, appears that this program has genuine merit and may be considered a clear success.

TEACHERS' EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAM

Teachers at MacFarlane were asked two open ended questions which left considerable room for discussion and evaluation of the program. On one hand teachers were asked to list the three aspects of the program they liked best and on the other, to indicate three aspects which they liked least.

Tabulation of the response indicate what the teachers like most about MacFarlane is:

A. The personal relationships which exist within the school for all members of the institution.
B. The discipline policy of the school and the way in which it is implemented.
C. The concern and interest shown in students.
D. The students themselves.
E. The relationship between teachers and the administration of the school.
F. The freedom to be creative.
G. The cooperation of the family.
H. Faculty relationships.
I. The Learning Center.

In addition, a number of other comments were made which pointed to positive aspects of the program, including:

1. The lack of special preparation for visitors
2. The programs the school is involved in
3. The emphasis on behavior, achievement and respect for self
4. The opportunity to work with the socially deprived child
5. The volunteers who come in to work with the reading program.

Overall, 38 different positive aspects of the program were mentioned by teachers.

Among those aspects of MacFarlane School which teachers disliked the most were:

A. Use of the public address system
B. Maintenance of the building
C. The ways in which supplies are ordered and distributed
D. Noise in the halls, particularly when large numbers of students are moving from one location to another
E. The lack of adequate playground space and equipment.
F. The frequency of meetings and the unproductivity of some of those meetings.
G. The need for prompter psychological testing for children with special emotional problems.
H. General problems with the facility.

Over 47 different areas were highlighted by teachers as aspects of the program which they have objections to. It should be noted that many teachers addressed themselves to personal objections rather than specific programmatic criticisms.

Near the end of the year Teachers were asked to evaluate the program in terms of motivation, learning, discipline, staff morale, and self image. It is apparent that the teachers used this form as an opportunity to discuss both student performance and the degree to which both they and the students had been affected by the program.

Across the board, improvement was noted and there is a clear indication that teachers express satisfaction with the total program as it relates to the areas mentioned above.

In terms of motivation on the part of students, teachers described the processes by which students are motivated in the program, the importance of motivation, and the fact that the program appeared to succeed in motivating their students.

The learning process was linked to motivation and it was found that students progressed during the year and that most teachers were satisfied with the improvement in learning demonstrated by their students. The learning center at the school was underscored as having made a significant contribution to learning improvement.

Within the area of discipline, most teachers indicated that student behavior had improved. This they attributed to the disciplinary policy and to the backing of the administration in matters of discipline. A number of teachers placed emphasis upon the need for good discipline in the learning situation.

Staff morale was generally conceded to have improved and was considered by and large very good. However, a number of teachers felt that this was one area in which improvement was definitely possible.

Finally, the question of self image was posed in terms of two areas, first why students need a positive self image and second, the efforts that had been made to raise self image. Generally, teachers felt that student and staff self image had been improved, but there was a strong indication that further strides should continue to be made to bring about greater improvement in this area.

Student Rights Handbook

for Dayton, Ohio

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6. MARRIAGE AND PREGNANCY
7. VERBAL ABUSE OF STUDENTS
8. RIGHT TO AN EDUCATION
9. ARRESTS
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THIS HANDBOOK IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR AN ATTORNEY

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Student Rights Handbook

for Dayton, Ohio

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1

School Discipline

Suspensions

Section 3313.66 of the Ohio Code authorizes the superintendent of schools or the principal of a public school to "suspend a pupil from school for not more than ten days." Neither the Ohio Legislature nor the Dayton school system has specified the potential reasons for which suspension may be imposed. Thus a student may be suspended for any conduct which does not meet the approval of the superintendent, or more particularly, the principal of the school.

There are limitations which may apply to the actions of school officials with regard to suspensions. Students have a constitutional right to an education and this right cannot be taken away as punishment for any act unless "due process of law" has been provided. What "due process of law" requires for high school students in disciplinary situations is very unclear. Court cases are being brought almost daily, but the courts in Ohio have not yet followed the trend toward recognizing significant student rights in this type of situation.

When it is determined that a student shall be suspended, Section 3313.66 requires that the student's parent or guardian be notified within 24 hours of the suspension, in writing, of the fact of the suspension "including the reasons therefore." The Pupil Personnel office, in its "Guidelines for Suspension and Expulsion", requires the communication sent to include "a description of the behavior which made the suspension necessary." These guidelines further provide that "other methods of guidance and control should have been tried and the parents should have been apprised of the growing seriousness of the student's behavior." Thus, the principal should not suspend a student unless all other methods of dealing with the problem have been tried and failed. Suspension should only be used as a last resort.

A suspension may not last longer than 10 days or until the end of the current semester, whichever comes first. The principal may ask the student's parent or guardian to come in for a conference to discuss the problem which led to the suspension. The parent does not have to attend this conference. If the parent does attend the conference, the length of the suspension may be decreased or the student might not be recommended for expulsion. For example, where the suspension is the result of a misunderstanding between the student and the school, it may be beneficial for the student and parent to attend the conference. But even if the parent does not attend the conference, the student may not be kept out of school beyond the ten-day period.

Expulsions

Section 3313.66 grants to the superintendent of schools the power to expel a student from school. No expulsion shall continue "beyond the current semester." When a principal feels that an expulsion is necessary, he will suspend the student for ten days and recommend to the superintendent that the student be expelled. If the superintendent agrees, an expulsion letter will be sent to the parent within the ten-day suspension period.

The "Guidelines For Suspension And Expulsion" state that "(E)xpulsion from school must be considered an extremely serious step." One example given of behavior which might warrant recommendation for expulsion is "willful assault upon a teacher or student." As with suspension, other methods of guidance and control should have been tried by the school and have failed before an expulsion should be considered. A student may be expelled for the same reasons and based upon the same act or acts as merited the suspension.

When a student is expelled, a parent has the right to appeal to the Board of Education. The Board of Education, by a majority vote, can reinstate the student to the school. Thus, the right to appeal should always be exercised. When a student and his parents appear before the Board of Education, they should always try to have an attorney with them. If they cannot afford an attorney and have not found an attorney who will take the case free of charge, they should contact the Student Rights Center. The address of the Student Rights Center is in the back of this Handbook.

An expelled student is eligible to return to school the semester following his expulsion. The principal or the guidance counselor may try to discourage the student from coming back to school. However, *he may not be legally prevented from re-entering the school because of the expulsion.*

If You Are Suspended Or Expelled

1. You cannot be suspended for more than ten days or expelled for longer than the remainder of the current semester.
2. At all times you should remember that anything you say may be used against you at a later time. You don't have to speak or answer questions when what you say could get you in trouble. Whenever what you say might lead to a juvenile court or criminal court prosecution, you shouldn't talk until you have received advice from an attorney.

3. If you are suspended or expelled, school officials must send to your parent or guardian, within 24 hours, a notice of the suspension or expulsion. The notice should include a *specific* description of the behavior which made the discipline necessary.

4. If you are expelled you have the right to appeal to the Board of Education. This right should *always* be exercised. To exercise this right, your parent first calls the Pupil Personnel Office to arrange an appointment with Dr. Goff (461-3850). He will then have a conference with you and your parents, and will set a date for the appeal hearing before the Board of Education.

Since this conference can affect your appeal, you should try to bring an attorney with you. If you cannot afford an attorney you should contact the Student Rights Center (223-8228).

At the appeal hearing, you should demand that the principal present documentary evidence or the testimony of witnesses concerning the behavior which resulted in your expulsion. If you think that the reasons for the expulsion are unjustified, you should have witnesses of your own at the hearing to testify to the real facts. Above all, try to have an attorney at the hearing.

5. A suspension or expulsion is a very serious matter which can have severe consequences for the rest of your life. It can decrease your chances to get into college or to get a good job. Sincere educators believe that when a school imposes serious disciplinary action upon a student, it is because the school has failed to meet the needs of the student in some way. Frequently, the best way to help a student who is suspended or expelled is to work to improve the school which he attends. Students who have been suspended or expelled, and their parents, should contact the Student Rights Center (223-8228) to discuss their problem with someone at the Center.

2

Student Expression

The recent United States Supreme Court case, *Tinker* v. *Des Moines Independent School District,* 393 U.S. 503, (1969), affirmed the constitutional rights of students to freedom of expression. The court declared that "students . . . may not be confined to the expression of those sentiments that are officially approved." No expression of opinion may be prohibited unless school officials can make a *reasonable* forecast that the expression will cause a *substantial disruption* or a *material interference* with school activities.

Distribution of Literature, Leaflets and Newspapers

You may distribute printed materials adjacent to the school but off school grounds. The school may not discipline you for this activity.

Board of Education regulations require that you request authorization from the principal before distributing any material on school property. A request, with two copies of the material to be distributed, must be submitted to the principal at least two days before the time of distribution. Further, you must have the permission of the Superintendent of Schools before distributing any materials not written and signed by students.

Within the spirit of the *Tinker* decision, these regulations may be unconstitutional. Nevertheless, students should realize that a person who challenges a regulation on constitutional grounds is guilty unless a *court* declares that the regulation is illegal. It is often difficult to get a case before a court so that the constitutionality of a regulation may be challenged. Before challenging any school regulation which you think is unconstitutional, you should consult an attorney.

Another way to deal with this problem is to request school officials to change these regulations so that your free speech rights are recognized. School officials should only be able to regulate the time and place of the distribution of written material so that a *substantial* disruption of school activities does not occur.

Symbolic Expression

You may wear political buttons, armbands, or other symbols of your beliefs so long as these symbols do not constitute a threat to the health and safety of other students or substantially disrupt the educational process.

3

Counseling

Tax money is used to place counselors in the schools to help you. You have the right, therefore, to demand assistance from the counselors.

Some counselors do not allow students to write their own course schedules. Many students are forced into the general course; but remember there are no general jobs. You should choose the courses which you feel are most relevant to your future life. Guidance counselors do not know as well as you do what information you want to learn and are capable of learning. If a counselor tells you that you should not take a particular course, ask him to tell you his reasons. If you do not agree with those reasons, demand to take the course which you want. Above all, do not allow yourself to be pressured into taking a course which you do not want to take, unless that course is required for graduation for all students.

The counselor should have information about the alternatives available to you when you leave the school. The counselor should have information files on these alternatives. He should give you assistance on colleges, job possibilities, and the draft. You have a right to receive this information and assistance. If the counselor is not giving you the assistance which he is paid to give, you, your parents, and your friends should demand a counselor who will do the job properly.

The most important function a high school serves is to provide an avenue for students to the various alternatives they have for their future lives. Students should demand nothing less than the best and most complete information on what these alternatives are.

On some subjects, other organizations exist which will provide more complete information to the students than counselors will provide. If you cannot get the information you need from your counselor, contact the Student Rights Center (223-8228).

4

Physical Punishment

Section 3319.41 of the Ohio Code authorizes teachers, principals or administrators to inflict *reasonable* physical punishment upon a student "whenever such punishment is reasonably necessary in order to preserve discipline while such pupil is subject to school authority." The right to administer physical punishment is thus a limited one. As the Board of Education has aptly noted, "authority derives from justice." (Student Rights and Responsibilities in the Dayton Public Schools, September, 1970.)

The punishment given must be *reasonably necessary in order to preserve discipline*. A teacher may not administer physical punishment merely because he does not like a student. Also, the punishment given to a student must be related to the student's act and to the reasons for the student's act. Physical punishment is not reasonably necessary if other means of controlling a student's behavior exist. In no event should physical punishment be given in anger.

The physical punishment given should be reasonable. Punishment which leaves serious marks or injures the student is not reasonable physical punishment.

You should question punishment which is not reasonably necessary in order to preserve discipline, or which is given for acts which you did not commit. You should demand to be taken immediately to the principal to explain the facts to him.

Many educators believe that corporal punishment is never reasonably necessary. Corporal punishment is being challenged in many communities across the country. Many have abolished this practice. If you have been given physical punishment which was unreasonable or unfair, you should contact an attorney or the Student Rights Center (223-8228).

5

Police In The Schools

There are two separate groups which serve a police function within the schools. First, there are the city and state police whose duty it is to enforce the law both within and outside school grounds. Second, there are private security forces who are employed by the school system to protect students, teachers, and staff from outsiders thought to be harmful within the school.

The police have the same powers within the school as they do on the street or anywhere else. The private security forces have more limited powers. They are employed to patrol the parking lots and guard the doors of the school. They are not employed to harass or intimidate students. Because the Board of Education employs this private security force, it is responsible for their conduct. If any member of this security force acts outside of his authority or harasses or intimidates students, the students should immediately report this to the principal and to the Board of Education. If no action is taken on the matter, the students should contact an attorney or the Student Rights Center (223-8228) so that further action can be taken.

Questioning By Police

Municipal police or court officials have the right to remove a student from school without his consent or that of his parent or guardian only after the student has been arrested. See the section on ARREST.

Under some circumstances, particularly when investigating a crime committed on school grounds, police authorities may question students within the school. The Constitution fully protects the student's right to remain silent at all times. Anything which a student says may be used in a future prosecution against the student. A student may give his name, his address, his age, and the reason for his presence within the school. However, the student should absolutely refuse to answer any further questions without having first consulted an attorney. The police and the school officials may well try to be friendly toward the student, as if the questioning was not important, or make threats toward the student. Do not be misled. DON'T TALK!

Questioning By Private Security Forces

Private security forces may question students when they are performing the duties for which they were hired. A student who is in the parking lot or is coming into the school at an unusual time should answer questions only to the extent of explaining the reasons for his presence at that particular place. If the questioning continues, or if the private security forces attempt to ask questions *in any other situation,* the student should demand to be taken immediately to the principal's office. At this point, private security forces have no reason to ask any further questions.

REMEMBER: You have the right to remain silent; anything you say may be used against you.

Searches

If you have been arrested, police have the right to search your person. Even if you have not been arrested, police have the right to "frisk" you if they are about to question you and if they have reasonable cause to believe that you are carrying a concealed weapon. These are the only situations in which police may search your person without your consent. Further, school officials do not have the authority to consent to a search of your person in your behalf.

It is the Board of Education's policy that "When (the) search of the student's person or personal effects is for evidence of a violation of school regulations and not for evidence of a crime *per se,* such search is permissible without consent . . . "A court might disagree with this policy. However, in most cases it is wise not to resist a search of this nature, since school officials will make trouble for you in other ways if you do. It is the Board of Education's policy that evidence obtained in a search on this theory may not be used in any subsequent criminal prosecution or juvenile court hearing.

It is possible that evidence obtained when school officials search your locker may be used against you. Therefore, you should never carry on your person or keep in your locker any object which you would not wish to show to a school official or police officer. Above all, you should not resist an illegal search beyond a statement that it is a violation of your rights, since active resistance will cause you more trouble.

6

Marriage And Pregnancy

Marriage

A married student may continue to attend school under the same conditions as any other student. The state of marriage does not excuse a student from compulsory school attendance.

Pregnancy

According to the current policy of the Pupil Personnel Office, "A married or unmarried girl who becomes pregnant must withdraw from the regular day school program upon knowledge of pregnancy. This withdrawal is required as a protection of the health of the student."

This policy is contrary to a recent Attorney General's opinion. In OAG 68-061, the Attorney General of the State of Ohio ruled that a board of education may not exclude from school an unmarried pregnant student, unless school attendance would be detrimental to her physical safety and well being. The determination of whether school attendance would be detrimental to a pregnant student's physical safety and well being must be made upon an individual basis. This is a medical decision rather than an administrative one. Consequently, if a principal attempts to exclude a pregnant student and the student feels that her continued school attendance would not be "detrimental to her physical safety and well being," she should demand that the determination be based upon a physical examination and a report by a physician. A statement from a doctor in behalf of the student's position would be helpful in securing the student's continued attendance in school.

The Pupil Personnel Office has adopted the following policy with regard to students whom the school officials believe to be pregnant but who deny that they are pregnant. "The School may insist upon a physical examination and a report by a physician of a student believed to be pregnant but who denies she is pregnant, such examination and negative report to be a condition of her remaining in school." This policy is of very questionable legality. The administration cannot exclude a student merely because of her pregnancy, but only when her continued "school attendance would be detrimental to her physical safety and well being." The student, particularly if she is not pregnant, should demand that this medical examination be given at Board of Education expense.

The Pupil Personnel Office has adopted several policies in order to attempt to provide continued education for pregnant students. For one thing, "A student whose pregnancy occurs or is discovered during the last grading period of a semester and whose classroom work is passing may be given homework assignments and a final examination, the completion of which shall enter into the determination of six week grades." If the exclusion because of pregnancy does not occur during the last grading period of a semester, a pregnant student has two alternatives, depending upon her age. If she is 16 years of age or older, she may enter the Dayton Night High School free of charge. For those pregnant students under 16 years of age, the School Board has adopted the following policy: "Upon application by the parent and the recommendation of a physician, a pregnant girl under 16 years of age may receive home instruction for the completion of the semester under the following conditions: (a) student is making satisfactory progress in her classroom work; (b) a home teacher is available."

Separating pregnant students from other students violates the pregnant student's right to equal protection of the laws. Further, concern for the "protection of the health of the student" is lacking when the student is compelled to attend night high school to secure the education to which she has a right. This sounds like another case of "separate but equal" education.

In any event, a student-mother, whether married or unmarried, may return to her regular school in her regular program in the semester following the birth of her child. No student may be excluded from the regular day school program because she is a mother.

7

Verbal Abuse Of Students

Some teachers and school officials insist upon calling students "dumb," or other derogatory terms. This must be stopped. Students have the right to be free from the psychological damage which comes from verbal abuse. "Dumb," for example, should be applied only to those students who lack the power of speech, and then not in a derogatory manner.

When a teacher calls a student "dumb," or any other dehumanizing word, the student should immediately make a complaint to the principal, as well as inform his parents of the incident. If the principal does not act upon the matter (at a minimum, an apology would be appropriate) the complaint should then be brought to the attention of the superintendent's office or the Board of Education. If no action is taken at this level, or if the verbal abuse continues, the student should contact an attorney or the Student Rights Center (223-8228) to consider further action.

Further, the provisions of Sections 2901.20, and 2901.21 of the Ohio Code may be applicable. Section 2901.20 provides that no student or person in attendance at a school shall engage in hazing or commit an act which injures, degrades, or disgraces a fellow student or person attending such school. Violators may be fined up to $200.00, or imprisoned up to six months, or both. Section 2901.21 provides that no teacher or other person in charge of a school shall knowingly permit hazing or attempts to haze, frighten, degrade, or disgrace a person attending such school. Violators may be fined up to $100.00.

8

Right To An Education

Every student has the constitutional right to an education. As the Supreme Court of the United States has stated, "Where the state has undertaken to provide it (an education), (it) is a *right* which must be available to all on equal terms." (Emphasis added.) ***Brown*** v. ***Board of Education,*** 347 U.S. 483, 493 (1954). The dimensions of this right are still unclear. However students, as the consumers of education, should demand that the education to which they have a right be a reality.

The Dayton Board of Education has made a general statement on student involvement in educational policy. "Students should have a voice in the formulation of school policies and decisions which affect their education and lives as students. Through such participation, students can be a powerful resource for the improvement of the school, the educational system and the community." Students should accept the Board's challenge.

Students might organize action groups, composed of students and parents within a particular school, both to attempt to improve the quality of education within the school and to formulate new school policies where these are necessary.

The following are only a few of the many possible actions which might be taken.

1. Schools are supposed to teach students how to live in the world in which they are growing up. Thus, the school curriculum should be relevant to the particular interests and needs of the students within the school. If this is not the case, students should demand appropriate changes in the curriculum so that these interests and needs will be met.
2. No group is more capable of evaluating the quality of teachers than the students who must listen to them every day. Students should work to implement a system in which all teachers are evaluated by their students and where these evaluations are considered in the decision of whether or not to rehire a teacher.
3. In many schools textbooks and machines are used which are outdated. Look inside the cover of your textbooks to see in what year the book was published. If it is more than five or ten years old, ask your teachers and your principal why they are teaching you from this outdated book.
4. No student should be forced to take a course which one does not want to take or does not feel is in one's best interests. To be forced to take one set of courses rather than another can mean, for example, that a student will not be able to gain admittance to college. Students should demand the right to take those courses which they feel are in their best interests. It is, after all, students who must live with the consequences of these choices, rather than guidance counselors or other school

officials.

5. Students and their parents or guardians should have the right to inspect all school records which pertain to the student. Further, students and their parents or guardians should demand that all records which are untrue be removed from the student's file. At the present time, teachers or other school officials can place any statement, whether true or false, on your record, without you or your parents or guardians ever knowing that it exists. These false and damaging records can then follow you around for the rest of your career in the schools, and the effects of them can continue for the rest of your life.

These are only a few of the many changes which students might demand. Further assistance in changing these and other conditions in the schools can be obtained from the Student Rights Center (223-8228). Students will have their right to an education implemented only when they demand it.

9

Arrests

What Is An Arrest?

A policeman does not have to say "You are under arrest" in order for an arrest to take place. Any loss of freedom, any indication that the policeman is taking custody of you, as for example his grabbing your arm, should be treated as an arrest.

An arrest without a warrant is legal if a policeman has reason to believe that *any* crime is being committed in his presence or that the person arrested has committed at any place a *serious* crime (felony). Whether any arrest, with or without a warrant, is legal, is a technical question of law which can only be answered in a court. Thus, it is important that any "arrest" *not be resisted.* No matter what you think happened, the judge will almost invariably believe what the policeman says happened. Further, even if your arrest was ruled illegal, it would still be a crime to resist it.

What Are Your Rights?

When you have been taken into custody, there are two important rights which you always have, no matter what the situation. First, you have the right, which you should *always* exercise, to remain silent, since anything you say may be used against you in a future criminal prosecution. Second, even if you are only being detained for "custodial interrogation," you have the right to the assistance of counsel. Further, if you cannot afford to hire an attorney, the state is required to appoint one for you.

When you have been arrested, since you are frightened, you might be tempted to talk to the police. The police may pretend to be friendly, encouraging you to talk, or they may threaten you with all sorts of terrible things unless you talk. Do not give in to temptation; DON'T TALK! The more you talk to a policeman, the more likely it is that you will admit something which is incriminating. Since you have no idea what information he is looking for, it will not usually pay to be evasive. The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives you the absolute right to remain silent. Exercise it.

The police may also threaten or cajole you to try to get you to sign a waiver of constitutional rights form. Regardless of what the police tell you, never sign any form which waives your constitutional rights. Demand that your parents be notified and present and that an attorney be appointed to represent you. Until you have spoken to your attorney, you need not give the police any information other than your name, your address, your age and your occupation. It is useful to give this limited information to facilitate your release from custody.

Arrest Checklist

1. You can safely tell the police your name, your address, your age and your occupation. Except for this, remain silent.
2. When you are arrested, there is a tendency, because you are scared, to "freeze-up" and not notice your surroundings. Try to remain calm and take careful note of the circumstances of your arrest. For example, who witnessed the arrest? People who saw your arrest may be very important witnesses for you at a future time. What is the badge or car number of the police who arrested you? What are the facts which led up to the arrest? Do

not rely on your memory. As soon as possible, write down everything which you remember about the arrest since you will otherwise quickly forget the details.
3. Demand that your parents be notified of your arrest immediately. If you can afford an attorney, either you or your parents should notify one immediately. You have the right to make these phone calls from either the police station or the juvenile court where you have been taken. If you cannot afford an attorney, demand that one be appointed for you immediately. Persons who cannot afford an attorney are entitled to one at state expense.

10

Conclusion

This booklet tells you what your human rights are in school. It also explains what your human responsibilities are in school.

The two things — rights and responsibilities — go hand in hand. You can't have one without the other. If you have a right to free speech in school, you also have the responsibility to use that speech to build, not to destroy. If you have a right to free press in school, you have the responsibility of exercising that right with the same standards of good taste that professional, honest, non-racist newspapers use. And so on.

Use this book as a tool to improve the quality of your life in school, and the quality of life for all young people. One reason we have written this book for you is to help bridge the gap between young Black and young White people. I agree completely with Frederick Douglass, who said: "I esteem myself a good, persistent hater of injustice and oppression, but my resentment ceases when they cease, and I have no heart to visit upon children the sins of their fathers." He also said: "You cannot outlaw one part of the people without endangering the rights and liberties of all people. You cannot put a chain on the ankles of bondsmen without finding the other end of it about your own neck . . . Experience proves that those are oftenest abused who can be abused with greatest impunity. Men are whipped often who are whipped easiest."

We believe it is imperative that you, as a student, learn to use the law as a tool for survival in a society that can be, at times, oppressive. That is the purpose of this book. According to Nathan Wright, it is the duty of the oppressed to save both himself and the oppressor. According to Martin Luther King, power is never good unless he who has it is good. Malcolm X advised young people to *"think for yourselves."*

Less than two percent of the lawyers in this nation come from Black and other "minority" groups. It is imperative that more young people from lower economic groups become interested in the law. The Student Rights Center, 1145 Germantown Street, is trying to convince those in power that they can concede power to students and that, by sharing their power with young people, they can create a true democracy within the Dayton schools.

Margaret Mead, the anthropologist, talks about three kinds of cultures: the post-figurative, where the young learn from the old; co-figurative, where the old and young learn from their own peer groups; and pre-figurative, where the old learn from the young. She says we are now strongly moving into a pre-figurative culture. So it becomes more and more important for you to know your rights under the law. You will be setting the pace and the style of the future.

We think it is important to remember that the idea of "student rights" is a frightening thing to parents, teachers, and administrators, but that they have to be convinced that to give students rights is not to take away parent, teacher, and administrator rights. In a book called *In Defense of Youth,* Earle C. Kelley wrote: "Hostile attitudes on the part of the elders are quickly sensed by youth whose response in many instances is hostility and aggression. The conflict between age and youth is one of the saddest aspects of our culture. And the saddest fact of all is that age always strikes the first blow."

There are many fine teachers and administrators in the Dayton system who will help you. There are also some who will be afraid of you and work against you. Using this book, you can defend your rights within the bounds of the law. That is the only kind of lasting and meaningful defense that I know. Use this book as a tool to defend your human rights in school. Do not use it as a substitute for a lawyer. There are two reasons for this. First, the law, by its nature, is constantly changing. Although several attorneys helped write this handbook, only an attorney who knows all the facts of a case can fully advise you of your legal rights. Second, there is a crucial difference between legal theory and practice. How people enforce laws in a community is often more important than what the Supreme Court says in Washington.

We at the Center love, trust, and respect you and have confidence in your ability to use this book to make democracy for the young a reality.

The handbook was developed with the assistance of many people. Among these were: Robert Bowman, Walter Brooks, Ruth Burgin, Joe Cannon, Ames Chapman, Michael Geltner, Ellen Hanson, Larry Hillman, Ellis Hutchinson, Ted Lauer, Richard Menefee, Donnie Moore, William Patterson, Carolyn Peck, James Phillips, Paul Piersma, Carolyn Russell, John Saunders, Robbie Smith, David Turner, Claudius Walker and Ferieda Walker.

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KNOWLEDGE IS POWER . . . BE THE BEST OF WHATEVER YOU ARE, AND IT'S WHEN THINGS SEEM WORST THAT YOU MUST NOT QUIT.

Yours in the struggle for the best possible
education for all of you very beautiful
and together young people.

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is power…
be the best
of
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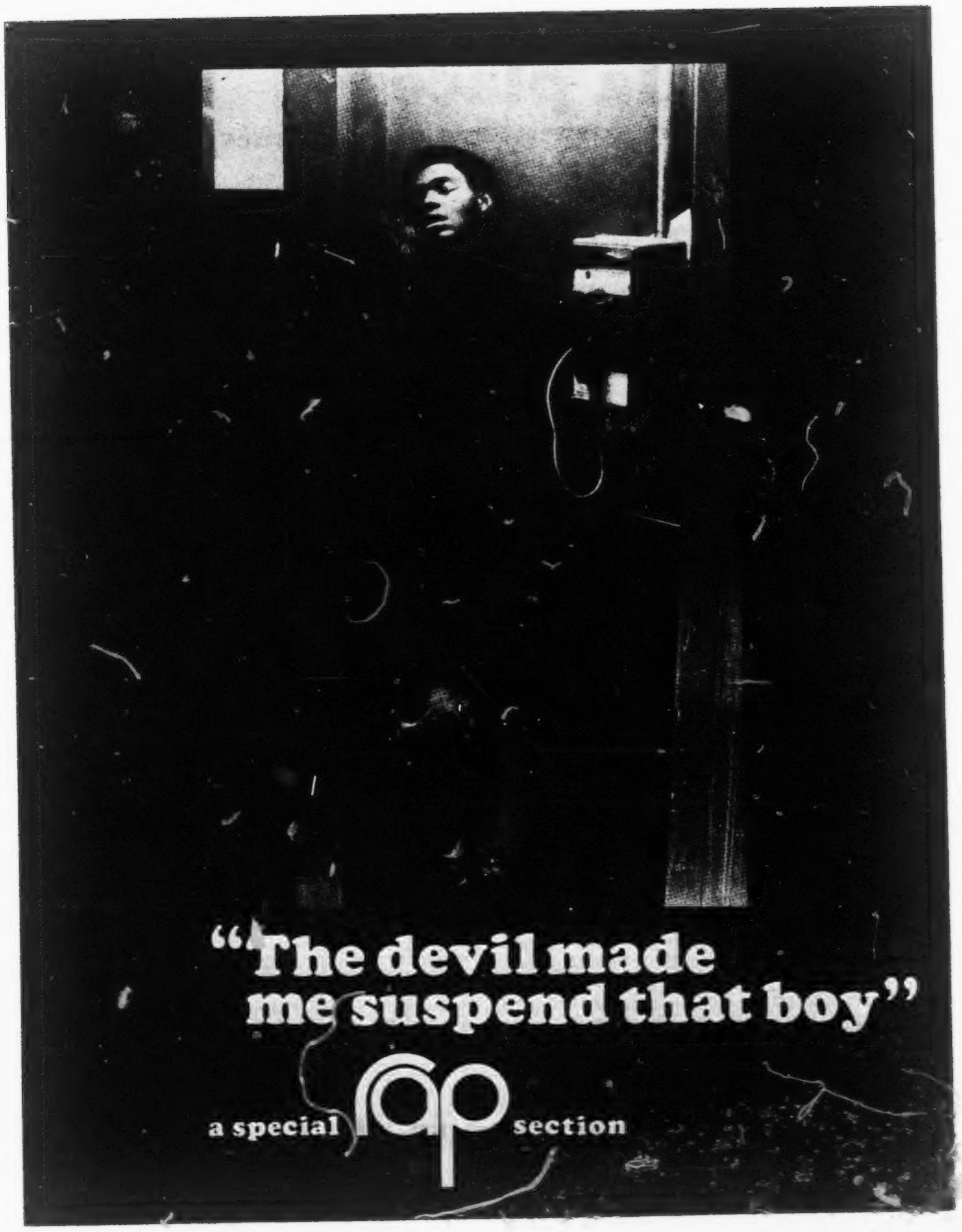


"The devil made me suspend that boy"

a special rap section

Chocolate faces in vanilla places

(and other great suspenders of our times)

I.

In September, Mark Lewis was among 81 students bused from his mostly black, low income Jefferson Elementary School neighborhood to white, middle income Valerie Elementary School in Harrison Township.

A short time later, he was suspended for 10 days.

"The little primary school kids were playing outside at lunchtime, white kids and black kids. I saw a little white boy going back into the building, crying. I stopped him and asked him what was wrong. He said that he and Dan Freeman, a black boy, had been fighting. I started to take him over to Dan to talk things out. The white boy's brother tried to take him from me and back into the building, but I brought the white boy to the primary school entrance. Someone else brought Dan Freeman."

Instead of talking things out, the white boy, frightened, got on his knees and begged Dan Freeman not to hit him again. Everyone went back inside to class.

"The next morning, Dr. Fields, the principal, called me into his office. The little white boy and his mother were sitting in the office. Dr. Fields asked the white boy if I had egged on the fight. The boy said yes. Dr. Fields said to me: 'From this minute on, you are suspended from school until further notice. I will take you home. Go get your books and come back to the office.'

"It was about 10 o'clock. Dr. Fields drove me home and let me out in front of my house. He told me to tell my mother to call him. He drove off. My mother didn't get home until 2:30 in the afternoon. I went over to my brother's house and kept checking to see when my mother would get home."

Four and a half hours after Dr. Fields had left Mark out on the street, Mrs. Josephine Hobson, Mark's mother, came home. "I took Mark right back to school," she says, "to see Dr. Fields. He told me that if Mark hadn't stopped the white boy from going back into the building, the fight wouldn't have happened. Mark got to tell his side of the story for the first time. He told Dr. Fields that the fight had happened before he saw the white boy and that the white boy was crying from the fight when he saw him.

"Dr. Fields listened. Then he apologized to me and Mark for what he had done. Dr. Fields told us he had gotten angry and acted too quickly. He said he knew he shouldn't have suspended Mark and left him in the street like that. He said Mark could come back to school the next day."

II.

The Dayton Board of Education's rule on suspension, published on official administration stationery and signed by Dr. William Goff, assistant superintendent in charge of pupil personnel, states:

"Ohio law grants to the building principal the authority to suspend a student from school for a period of not more than 10 days. The use of suspension as a disciplinary measure should always be preceded by a careful and judicious evaluation of the total situation involving the student. Normally, other methods of guidance and control should have been tried and the parents should have been apprised of the growing seriousness of the student's behavior."

III.

Late in January, Dr. Fields received a letter from Elizabeth Scondrick, an employee of the Amalgamated Transit Union, Local 1456, whose job it is to ride buses where children have misbehaved consistently and to report on the situation.

In her letter, she listed the names of 29 Valerie School children, accusing them of swearing, name calling, talking to the driver, moving from one seat to another, leaving the bus before it stopped, and defying authority. In order to get the children's names, she passed a piece of paper around and asked them to sign it. Then she wrote down her accusations and sent her letter to Dr. Fields.

Only nine of the 29 names had individual discipline violations next to them. After the names of four students, Mrs. Scondrick wrote: "more or less with the crowd." After two others, she wrote: "late every morning." After Mark Lewis' name, she wrote: "I told him to

dan geringer article
dr. fields interview by brian smith
peter gillespie photography

sign his name on the slip of paper I gave him, he sweared and told me what he wasn't going to do. Mark made a move towards me. And I told him he had better have a seat, and do what I told him. He said he was going to call his mother. I told him he could call anyone he liked after he did what I said."

Running out of paper on her one sheet of stationery, Mrs. Scondrick listed 13 students' names and said, "all of these students' conduct is very bad, they do name calling, move from seat to seat, very loud."

On the day Dr. Fields received Mrs. Scondrick's letter, he immediately suspended all 29 children and told them he would not let them come back to school until he talked to their parents.

Mrs. Hobson went to see Dr. Fields to ask why Mark had been suspended. "I told him that I didn't see why he suspended so many children just on the woman's word. I told him what the children had told me, how she had called them names and said, 'Shut up or I'll knock your damn teeth down your throat' when they didn't want to sign the paper. I told him I didn't think she was fit to work with children. I said: 'Why suspend all these children?' He said: 'I had no other choice.' What kind of answer is that?"

Mrs. Hobson circulated a petition among the parents of the suspended children, calling Mrs. Scondrick's behavior "child abuse" and asking Dr. Fields for a meeting in his office within 24 hours to resolve the situation. "Three days later, he called us and we had our meeting. Besides the parents, there was Dr. Goff from the Pupil Personnel Department downtown, a bus company representative, and a union representative for the drivers.

"They kept talking around the bush. I kept telling them I was there to keep Mrs. Scondrick off the bus. Finally, Dr. Goff got angry and yelled at me, 'Dammit, I can't get anything done around here.' And I yelled back, 'Dammit, answer my question" They finally agreed that Mrs. Scondrick wouldn't ride anymore."

IV.

Less than a month later, on February 15th, the children were having a snowball fight after school next to the bus stop. Mark Lewis explains what happened:

"We were throwing snowballs and when the buses pulled up to take us home, most of us got on. A few kids were still throwing snowballs at each other. Naturally, the buses got hit. Some kids on the bus had snowballs and were throwing them through the open windows at the kids outside.

"I was standing by an open window without a snowball when the driver of the other bus walked over to my window. Somebody behind me threw a snowball out the window and hit her. She got on the bus and put her face close to mine. She said, 'Did you throw that snowball at me?' I told her no. She put her face a little closer. 'I asked you did you throw that snowball at me?' I said, 'And I just told you no.' She asked me two more times. The bus was silent. She left, cursing me out under her breath. The whole bus heard what she called me.

"She went and got Dr. Fields. He told her to point out who was throwing the snowballs. She pointed out Thomas Glover and Anthony Harris and then she looked over at me and said, 'This one here hit me with a snowball.'

"Dr. Fields told us to follow him. The buses got ready to leave and began driving off. I asked Dr. Fields how I was going to get home. He said, 'You are going to walk.' I told him I was going inside the school to call my mother to come get me. He said he would call her and let her know we were on our way home. He started going toward the school. We started home."

The walk was five miles on a cold day. It took the boys two hours to reach their Lower Dayton View homes. "I kept Mark home the next day," Mrs. Hobson says. "Fed him aspirins all day long and kept checking to make sure he wasn't running a fever. The following day, I sent him back to school."

A meeting was scheduled at the Board of Education with Dr. Fields and Dr. Goff. "I told Dr. Fields that he had done a cruel thing and that he had no reason to make the children walk home. I asked why he hadn't asked the children for their side of the story. He told me he had to back up the bus driver. He said that he couldn't take the word of the children. He said that all children tell lies when they do something wrong.

"I asked why didn't he take them inside and call me. He said he didn't see the point of taking them inside. He said that if they had waited outside, they were in a dry place. He said he had other work to do."

Mrs. Hobson showed Dr. Fields the Dayton Board of Education's official policy on busing which says that "Any child who insists on misbehaving shall be denied the privilege of riding the bus by the proper authority." There was no evidence of the children's insisting on misbehaving. There is no rule that permits a principal to make children walk five miles home as punishment. Dr. Fields told Mrs. Hobson that he did not tell the boys to walk home. He said he left them on the school grounds and went inside the school building.

By this time, Mrs. Hobson was disgusted and feeling completely helpless. She asked that her son be transferred back to a school in her neighborhood. Dr. Goff and Dr. Fields immediately agreed to this. At a second meeting with them, she asked that all three suspensions involving Mark be erased from his permanent record. She said they were clearly in violation of the Dayton Board's own suspension and busing regulations, and she didn't want her son's new principal and teachers to look at the permanent record and get a first impression that Mark was a problem child. Dr. Goff agreed to erase all three incidents from Mark's permanent record. Mrs. Hobson asked to see the record so that she could be sure of this. Dr. Goff refused.

V.

Mark transferred to Longfellow School. "There has been no trouble at all since the transfer," Mrs. Hobson says. "At first, Mark missed his friends at Valerie, but he adjusted quickly. He gets good grades and he will start at Patterson Co-op in the fall."

VI.

A month after Mark left Valerie School, Dr. Fields, who is white and speaks with a soft Southern twang, discussed integration at Valerie and sounded wise and gentle. It was as if Mark Lewis and other black students who had been expelled from or had "decided" to transfer from Valerie after several run-ins with Dr. Fields, couldn't possibly have existed.

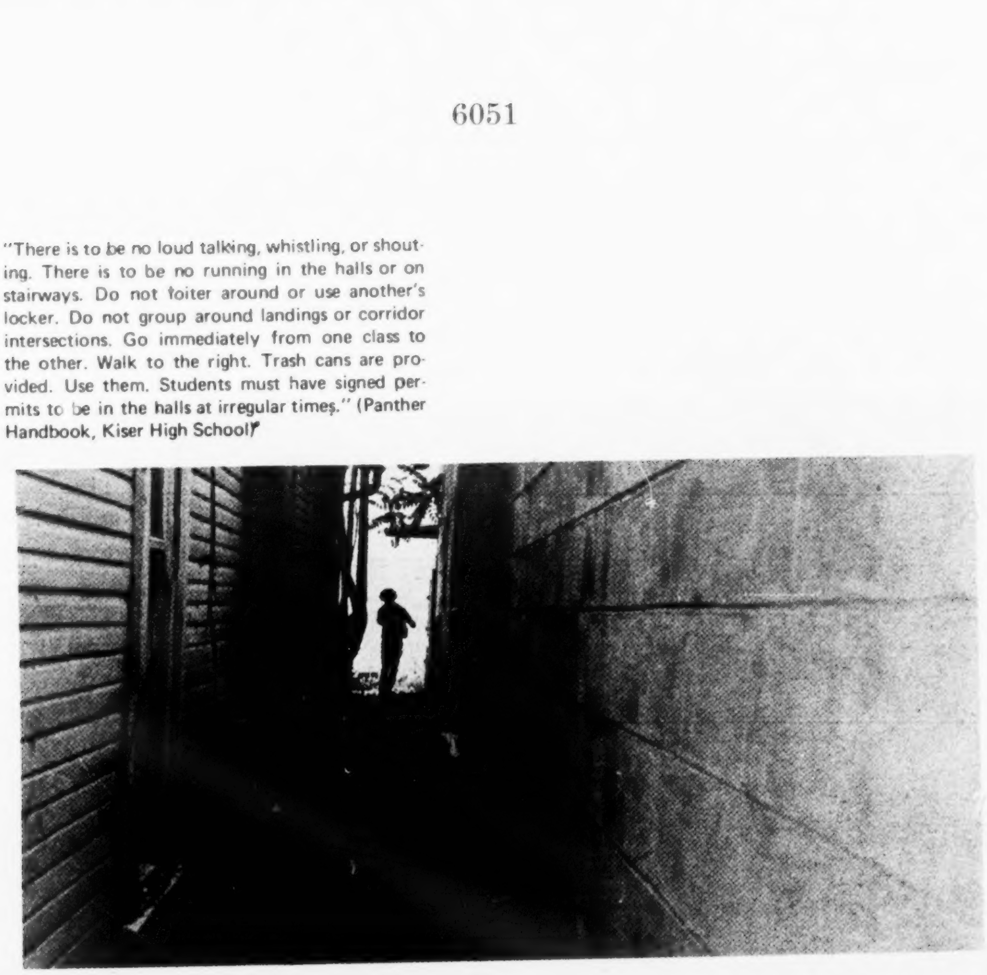
"The inner city children like our Jefferson students have two marks against them before they set foot in a white school like Valerie. First, they are black. Second, they come from a disadvantaged socio-economic background. These differences create a wide gap in learning achievement. This gap must be accounted for, and accommodations made.

"When you have diversified cultures merging like we have at Valerie, you are going to have some problems, which I feel is a natural outgrowth of mistrust and identification misunderstandings. For example, a child from the inner city might take a pencil when he needs one from another student's desk, and then replace it, without asking if he could use it. At Valerie, the students would call it stealing. But it isn't, taken in the context of the situation. The basic problem is one of majority values displacing minority values (black students learning white values) over a period of time, without losing individual identity.

"Other misunderstandings arise from differences in how the kids play. The inner city students are a bit more rough in their play because they are less protected at home and learn at an earlier age how to play. Language is one more difference as just an idle comment by a black child will be taken in an offensive manner by a white child. But with time these differences will subside."

Dr. Fields' comments about "play" were ironic in view of his actions after the snowball fight. This year at Valerie School, there was also the case of Melvin Robin-

"There is to be no loud talking, whistling, or shouting. There is to be no running in the halls or on stairways. Do not loiter around or use another's locker. Do not group around landings or corridor intersections. Go immediately from one class to the other. Walk to the right. Trash cans are provided. Use them. Students must have signed permits to be in the halls at irregular times." (Panther Handbook, Kiser High School)



son, a black eighth grader who was suspended several times and then expelled for fighting. One of Melvin's suspensions was for hitting a white child in the face during the bus ride to school. Melvin claimed the white child had called him a nigger. The white child denied this. Not content to suspend Melvin, Dr. Fields informed the white child's parents that Melvin hated all white people, that he came from a home where his mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Robinson, hated all white people and taught this hatred to her children, and that the only solution was psychiatric help for Melvin. Acting on the advice Dr. Fields had given them, never having met either Melvin or Mrs. Robinson, the white parents decided to file an assault and battery charge against Melvin in Juvenile Court.

Had Dr. Fields been better informed, he would have known that Mrs. Robinson is state chairman of the Welfare Rights Organization and has been an active welfare rights leader for years here. She has worked closely with a large number of Appalachian welfare mothers and black welfare mothers during those years. Her position is a non-salaried one.

When the case came up in Juvenile Court, the referee explained to the white parents that the problem never should have reached court. He said it should have been settled between the families, or at school.

VII.

"Sometimes, we fail to see the child's problems," Dr. Fields reflected, "and we only see ours in relation to his. When a child is disruptive, we try 100 per cent to keep him in school. What must be noted is the child's actual behavior and the child's perception of the situation.

"When a problem occurs, the first step involves the counselor and a general discussion with the child about how he perceives the situation. If the child is referred again, there is a conference between the student and the principal where firm guidelines about the situation are established. If he still persists, a note is sent to the parent and a face-to-face conference may be held with student, principal, and parent.

"If this fails, the child is given a choice of corporal punishment or suspension. This is only after all other methods of keeping the child in school have been expended. Usually the child will take the corporal punishment. If this doesn't work, we will resort to suspension. Suspensions are normally from one to three days. But it

"Hot as a dog outside. Summertime. Me in my cutoff shorts going down to the park under the big old shade tree hunting for my buddy. The old-timer. Didn't have no teeth in his mouth. Cut off his boots to give his toes some air. I was the youngest catcher in the park. I was the littlest dude. Called me shorty, half pint. He'd tell me things. We used to go back in the alley and sit on a rock and talk and drink wine. I drank wine with him out of the same bottle and he never wiped the top. He kept me going. He believed in me. One day, he wasn't at the park. I walked under the shade tree and up on the railroad tracks and out to Johnson's pool hall and through the alleys. I asked everyone I saw, 'Where's my partner?' But I never could run into him. I never could find him again. . ."

Donnie Moore
Dunbar senior

varies."

Dr. Fields was asked why, in view of the many steps he says are taken to keep a child in school, Mark Lewis was suspended so quickly. "Nothing I said seemed to make an impression on Mark," he said. "You know. Some kids will look at you, and you know that you are not getting through. There was no behavior change, no attitude change that I could see. Punishment did not teach Mark anything. So I suspended him."

How much counseling did Mark Lewis and Melvin Robinson receive? How did the staff at Valerie deal with Mark's and Melvin's adjustment problems? "I don't know how much counseling they received, but I don't think it was much. We have one counselor here for 450 children."

When his counselor was pointed out to Melvin, he said, "I've seen her walking around the halls. But I never knew what she did here." By that time, Melvin had been suspended twice, was regarded by teachers and Dr. Fields as "trouble", and was only a short time away from expulsion and three months on the street.

VIII.

Students are suspended from the Dayton school system at the rate of almost 3,500 per year. Suspension is the first step in a clearly documented pattern. Several suspensions add up to expulsion from school, or dropping out. Expulsion or dropping out ends up as juvenile court referral. Juvenile court referral ends up as jail.

There are some startling facts in the Dayton Board of Education's own "Dropout Profile" book. During the 1969-70 school year, 1,380 students dropped out of the Dayton schools. As it has for 10 years now, Roosevelt High School, with a student body that comes largely from low income, black neighborhoods, led the city (247 dropouts). At Stivers High School, where the student body comes largely from low income, white neighborhoods, 235 students, an amazing 21.5 per cent of the total student body, dropped out.

In making its "profile", the administration researchers questioned one boy and one girl dropout from the 9, 10, 11, and 12 grade levels at each high school. Administration statistics show that almost half of the dropouts had intelligence ratings of average and above, yet 62.1 per cent had failing grade point averages, 62.1 per cent missed 26 or more days of school, and 69 per cent were in the General Course, referred to by students as The Dumping Ground. "I was in that General Course for awhile, man," says Donnie Moore, a graduating Dunbar senior who got out of the General Course and is now headed for college. "Spent all semester bullshitting and making a broom, man. Worked on that broom for MONTHS. Got a 'A'."

The two key facts in suspension and dropout statistics are the high percentage of students who fail to adjust to school in low income areas, and the Board of Education's own information on the relationship of student dropouts to the people in school who could have helped them.

More than half of the dropouts in the survey said they wanted more classroom discipline from the teachers; 65.4 per cent wanted more "counseling for direction and guidance." More than half rated "communication between pupil and disciplinarian poor"; 43 per cent rated communication between pupil and counselor poor; 51.6 per cent rated communication between pupil and principal and between pupil and assistant principal poor.

The reason lies in the difference between how most teachers and administrators see students, and how students see themselves. The difference is as basic as language.

IX.

The administration researchers explain that their dropout study is "designed to ascertain what must be provided for the dropouts to beget the apparent despair of meaninglessness, senselessness, pointless affirmation of nonentity; how he is to relieve himself of the impossible predicament of the autonomous suicidal destruction of his worthwhileness . . .

"One who feels worthwhile comprehends it as an act which is utterly (probably) beyond a complete scientific explanation. To comprehend worthwhileness is an act of contemplation and philosophical wisdom mutated with the fruit of scientific analyses. Most can identify 'there is a tree; that is a man'. But few are struck by the realization of the real import or input of what is really meant by 'is'."

X.

Luke Huggins, a Roosevelt freshman, writes: "One day as I was walking down the street this lady came out of a house say you black bitch. I didn't know what was going on but she had caught this lady in the house with her man. The lady came out the door with a gun in her hand and said come out of there. The other lady came out the house and the man with her. He said don't you shoot her or you shoot me. Then she drop the gun on the ground and said God be with me."

XI.

"The Roosevelt Seal which is in the main hall by the Mathison Street entrance is not to be walked on by anyone. This is a sacred symbol of our school and is to be respected at all times." (Roosevelt student handbook, "Rally for Roosevelt")

XII.

"I don't see why pimp hit their women when they don't get any money and there is no reason for that because she can't help it. And all pimp want is new cars and lot of money and he should want the woman herself." (Tycelia Whatley, Roosevelt freshman)

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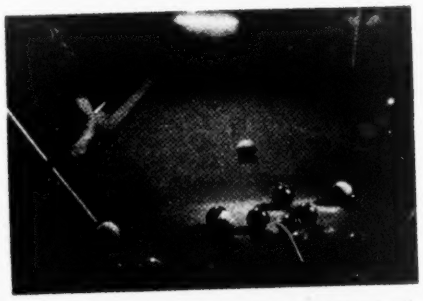
XIII.

"By 1923 Fairview had its Bulldog, a scrawny little bull terrier. But like the school, Fairview's bulldog had to grow. The original bull terrier has developed into the stalwart, proud Bulldog which now stands in the Senior Section of the cafeteria. In 1962, a contest was held to select a proper name for the bulldog. Bruiser was the



"We have won the sportsmanship trophy in the past. Let us win it this year. Let us keep our thousand points. By watching our behavior while going to and coming from the game, as well as while at the game, we can win this coveted trophy. Follow the directions of the cheerleaders. Be enthusiastic but not rowdy. More points are deducted for profane language than for any other misbehavior. Students should try to get together in the center sections of the stands. This adds greatly to our cheering potential." (Panther Handbook, Kiser High School)

"You cannot choose to do nothing. You must do something, and what you do must be good—it must be a worthy contribution to whatever group you belong. And you must give your best. If each gives his best, there are no problems that can't be solved at Colonel White." (Colonel White Student Handbook)

name chosen." (Fairview student handbook, "Welcome to Fairview")

XIV.

"When I was in a car rake you didn't no if any one was going to live or die because the cars bump together and then the car I was in turn over five times and when it land every one fail out of the car and my sister was cut over her eye and every one thought it was her eye and my teeth were all louse and all my bones were broke. And I could harly brea and they didn't no if I was going to live or die." (Tycelia Whatley, Roosevelt freshman)

XV.

"Three members of the class of 1918 wrote Fairview's song 'The Blue and Gold.' While they were composing the song, they discovered that blue and gold sounded better when put to music than blue and orange, the colors chosen in 1909. As a result, Fairview's colors were changed to blue and gold." (Fairview student handbook, "Welcome to Fairview")

XVI.

"It was on Easter Sunday I almost got shoot over fifty cent. I seen one of my old girl friend mother. And she told me if she would of known the dude had a gun she would of shot him. But I was lucky enough to get away from him." (Edward Bratchette, Roosevelt freshman)

XVII.

"No open display of affection please, holding hands will suffice." (Centerville Student Handbook)

XVIII.

"I saw two man fight. They was fight about a young lady. This man feel this lady booie and the other man got jealson and hit him. He pull out a knife and stab him in the arm. And they start shooting. Both us them died and the lady walk out of the bar and said them fool." (Denise Russell, Roosevelt freshman)

XIX.

"The purpose of the language clubs is mainly social, but sociability with a specific educational aim: to use the language in informal conversation, learn the social customs of the peoples of the countries who speak the language, become acquainted with their music, games, art, literature and foods." (Roosevelt student handbook, "Rally for Roosevelt")

XX.

"All you L7's break away from playing the dozen and dig up on the tips about a hound who eats at the Y. Hey deaden that shit and give me a square if you got a dime bag it's cool." (Randy Meadows, Roosevelt senior)

XXI.

In a December 15th letter to the Dayton school board, Dr. Wayne Carle, superintendent of Dayton's public schools, wrote: "Racial integration is both the number one social and number one educational problem confronting our country. If schools fully overcome the effects of racial isolation, there is considerable reason to believe that they can also unravel the related issues of humanization, motivation, accountability, financial support, and learning problems confronting public education in general . . ."

But as the histories of Mark Lewis and Melvin Robinson and others like them at Valerie School indicate, the problem of children ending up on the scrap pile will not be solved by integration. It will only be solved when administrators and teachers begin to hear the language of their students, and to understand it.

At St. Agnes School in Lower Dayton View, where 40 per cent of the 270 students are black and the class size of 30 is approximately the same size as public school classes, there has been one suspension and two paddlings in the past two years. "When a kid gets angry and says 'motherfucker', the last thing in the world I will do is be shocked and scream at him," explains St. Agnes counselor Betty Jane Kurtz. "Screaming at him is the best way to help him curse the next time he gets angry. If I can't act calmly and work with the kid to get at the cause of his anger and change his mood, then I'm not controlling the situation. I'm not helping anyone."

At St. James School on the West Side, where 140 out of 175 students are black, Sister Mary Ann Drerup, the white principal, recalls only one suspension in recent years. "A long time ago, before I learned to control my adrenalin, I remember slapping a girl who sassed me. And making another girl wash her mouth out with soap for cursing.

"But I learned. The first thing I learned was never to act when I'm angry. That is a rule for our teachers here, too. When children misbehave, it is usually because they feel inferior for some reason, or they are jealous, or they are in a power battle with the teacher or another student. It takes time to get at the heart of the problem. If you don't calm down first and think, both you and the student are lost.

"I remember a girl that I just didn't like. She was so . . . I don't know . . . flip. She just rubbed me the wrong way. One day, in class, she was reading out loud to herself. Without thinking, I said, 'Read with your eyes, not with your lips.' And she looked at me and I could see how she hated how I spoke to her. I thought to myself, 'Wait a minute. First I better deal with myself before I try to change someone else's behavior.'

"It does take time to learn about children. But I don't know any other way of reaching them."

XXII.

If the Dayton public schools continue to lack the patience to reach their thousands of "difficult" students, then suspension, dropout, and juvenile court referral rates will continue to rise. The administration's stated dream of "quality education" will simply never happen.

XXIII.

Donald Blanton, Roosevelt freshman: "Some dude name Donald Catten he's my best friend. We've been knowing one another for four years, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th. We went to Weaver School in the 7th and 8th grade together and went to Roosevelt High for the 9th and 10th together and we get hi together fight together get suspended together. Me, him and Dudley Thomas all three of us get suspended all the time in the 8th grade . . .

"If I could do what I want all day with no one messing with me and my lady we would have fun all day and good fun too all day playing in the bed just playing not have sex or anything just be playing and having fun for once just like we would if we were little again and lay in bed, talk, laugh, play, eat food or popcorn in the bed or something like that . . .

"Me, Catten, and Dudley was taking dope we was shooting $70 a day habit all day every day we would shoot dope. All three of us had sons and they was seniors in high school. All three of them ran together, played football and basketball together and they did just like us. We played football, basketball and ran together, fight together. Sometimes they would drink some thing together and get hi and had a son all three of them . . ."

XXIV.

Edward Bratchette, Roosevelt freshman: "If I was head of Roosevelt High and I had a bad day I would expel any person who come in my office and beat my dog if he jump on me when I get home."

"One day there live a handsome prince name Gregory and a beauty princess name Denise. They were madness in love. They use to pick flowers every Sunday after church. Then one day a girl name Jackie came along and move her out of place. Gregory forgot all about Denise. One day they was have a dance. Gregory took Jackie and Denise went all by her self. Jackie was dresses in a beauty yellow dress with yellow and white shoes. Gregory was dress in a black tockseole. Soon they were dances together and then Denise came in. She was loveful. Every body stop dances and look at her. Gregory stop dances and dance with her and he said she the mose beauty woman he ever saw. . ." (Denise Russell, Roosevelt freshman)

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COMMUNITY SCHOOL COUNCIL

Philosophy and Framework for Urban Educational Change

May, 1970, Dayton, Ohio

Arthur E. Thomas, *Director, Dayton Community School Council*
Ruth W. Burgin, *Advisor to the Director*

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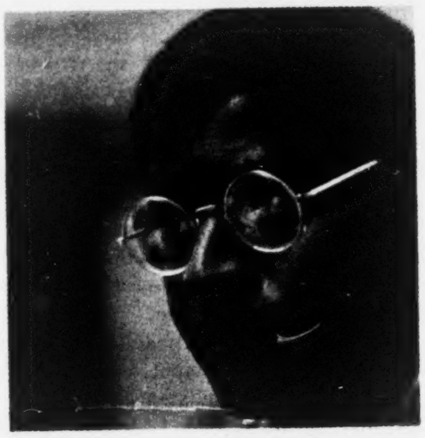
Preface

The purpose of this document is to develop an understanding and a mechanism of change in the public education system as it exists for minority group children. Specifically, it is designed to stimulate its users to apply their own skills and make their own decisions about how to implement a community school council. While the handbook is based on the Dayton experience, which occurred in a black urban community, the principles of change and action apply to other oppressed minorities throughout the nation.

The achievement of community control as decentralization of the educational system calls for a redistribution of power relationships, exercised and implemented legislatively or through the collective action outlined in the following pages. On this point the document is clear: parents will be merely exercising their basic rights by determining educational policy for the schools their children attend. The creation of a community school council, as a process which honors that right, can be achieved only with great difficulty; but the skills developed in overcoming obstacles and opposition, lead to qualitative change in the education of Black children.

The non-negotiable right of parents to be involved in shaping their children's education is the underlying value of what is presented. All else is added for the purpose of encouraging readers to exercise their responsibilities and to explore alternative strategies for doing so.



Arthur E. Thomas

The ideas for the development of the handbook, based on the Dayton experiment Parent-Community involvement and community school control, came from Arthur E. Thomas, Director, Dayton Community School Council, and Ruth W. Burgin, Deputy Director, SCOPE Community Action Agency in Darke, Greene, Miami, Preble, and Warren Counties, Ohio*. Mr. Thomas initiated the action for the financing of the council which resulted in an allocation of funds for the program from OEO CAP Grant 8716, which was administered by the City of Dayton's City Demonstration Office.

Mr. Thomas assumed responsibility for the selection and assignment of persons in the development and production of the handbook with Mrs. Burgin, who organized the work and managed the editing and logistics.

Preston Wilcox, President, Afram Associates, provided the major part of the discussion. Donald H. Smith, Director, Educational Development, Bernard Baruch College, contributed to the history and contemporary changes occurring within the community school control movement. Mr. Wilcox and Dr. Smith have both served as consultants to the Dayton Community School Council. Mr. Wilcox continues to meet periodically with the council as a consultant in community school control.

The ideas presented are those of the parents and students of the Dayton Community School Council. In addition, Mr. Wilcox draws upon his wealth of experience as a teacher and practitioner in affairs of community organization and parent-community school control. Dr. Smith draws upon his knowledge and skills as an innovator in the field of urban education for systematically deprived poor Black children.

Kenneth Blanchard assisted in the organization of the contents.

Major editorial assistance was contributed by Patricia A. Rector. Jari Wyatt and Linda Provencal typed the document.

Bill Patterson did the art work and photography and assumed responsibility for production.

The Office of Economic Opportunity nor any other governmental agency is responsible for the views expressed, and the discussion within takes advantage of the freedom of expression permitted. Community school control as a concept and goal is relatively recent and controversial for poor minority and Black people of this country, and as a subject attracts, of necessity, in some form, the interest and concern of the education community - parents, students, teachers, boards of education and the greater citizenry whenever it is raised. Consequently, most of the writings on this topic are scattered about in periodicals having less than wide distribution to the general public or lie dormant as unpublished documents in the hands of persons having yet to bring their works to the attention of the larger community. For this reason, a limited bibliography is included. The writers, where reference is made to sources other than their own, have so indicated in the text of the handbook.

The handbook springs from the belief so often articulated by the Director of the Dayton Community School Council, Arthur E. Thomas: "The people have the intelligence, the skills, and the brilliance to make their schools the best schools in the world. The educational technician must provide information and be willing to take risks in order to put the people in a position to make decisions where they can affect real democracy. The technician must view himself as a tool to be utilized by the people. This can be easily done if the technician really loves, trusts, and respects the people."

R. W. B.

**Thomas holds a master's degree in educational administration from Miami University and served as the only coordinator and first director of the Dayton Model Cities Education program. He is now Director of the OEO Legal Services funded Center For the Study of Student Citizenship, Rights and Responsibilities in Dayton which is associated with the Harvard University Law and Education Center. Mrs. Burgin holds a master's degree in community organization from Ohio State University, was chief technical assistant and advisor to Mr. Thomas in the development of the Dayton Model Cities Education program and the operation of the Dayton Community School Council, developed the comprehensive framework of the Dayton Model Cities program and coordinated the development of and wrote the Social Services Component of the program. Mr. Thomas and Mrs. Burgin are doctoral students at the University of Massachusetts, School of Education.*

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I. Introduction: The Need for Community Control

The Dayton Community School Council is part of one of the most important movements in the history of American education.

Inspired by the courageous examples of Black and Puerto Rican citizens in New York who formed the Governing Boards of IS 201, Manhatten, Ocean Hill-Brownsville, and Brooklyn, Black and other minority citizens have begun to organize themselves throughout the country to improve the education of their children. The Dayton Community School Council, as an important force for educational change in this city, is linked with Black, Brown, Red, and Yellow "change agents" in cities all over the nation.

Citizen Control of Schools - A New Idea?

The idea of citizen control of schools is not a new one; it is "new" only in the cases of non-whites and the poor. The white middle and upper classes have historically and traditionally exercised both direct and indirect control over the schools their children attend, and ironically, over the schools which their children do not attend; that is, those attended by the dark-skinned and the poor.

By means of various control mechanisms, comfortable and well-to-do white people have exerted powerful influence over who will teach, what will be taught, who will manage the schools, and how the schools will be managed. Among these control mechanisms have been their power to appoint and dismiss superintendents; their power to appoint school boards, or in the cases of elections to provide funds for election campaigns and for mass media publicity, which in turn, significantly influence election outcomes; their presence on state and local committees which determine policy concerning teacher certification and employment, curriculum and textbooks, the expenditure of local, state and federal funds, and the employment of various contractors who serve the schools - building contractors, food service contractors, medical and dental services, and even such services as janitors, window washers, and garbage disposers.

They exert indirect influence through their station in life which is a constant reminder to principals, teachers, counselors, and others that the children of these parents are important human beings who are expected to learn. Educational personnel know that their jobs depend on performance. They know that white affluent parents expect the schools to prepare their children to attend Harvard, Yale, Chicago, or California, and therefore, they know they had better take care of business or be prepared to move on.

This network of powerful elements, including the control of universities which train the teachers and administrators, has enabled affluent whites to control their schools and the schools of oppressed minorities in a manner intended to serve the interests of the white middle and upper middle classes.

Until very recently Black and poor parents had no mechanism of control.

They had no way whatsoever to influence what was happening to their child in school. They knew the children weren't learning, that they read poorly and had difficulty with math. They knew their children were in danger of becoming "push outs," but, as in the case of many parents, they often didn't know what to do, and even when they did know, nobody would pay them any attention because they had no power.

The lessons of the history of civilization have taught that *groups which hold power and control the destinies of others never give it up until they are confronted with enough counter-power that they are forced, in their own best interest, to give up, or at least share, the power.*

The Rationale for this Handbook

The real significance of the Dayton and other community school council movements is that they help Black and other oppressed citizens to achieve the following:

- develop the power and strategies to affect the educational destinies of their children,
- assert to the white establishment the power that black and poor parents intend to have over the education of their children is as great as the influence that white parents exover the education of their children,
- prove to themselves that they have the courage and the talent to organize and conduct a social change movement, and
- show their children and the adult community that they are no longer a powerless people who can be manipulated to the advantage of and at the will of the powerful majority, and that they will develop a power base so that they can control their own educational destinies.

In accordance with these objectives, this handbook and policy guide was developed as a project of the Community School Council. During the course of its educational leadership development program, the director of the program, Arthur E. Thomas, found himself continually engaged in conflict with the school superintendent and the Dayton Board of Education. The conflict became an educational tool since it provided stark evidence of the basic condition of white institutional racism. Efforts to educate minority group children are meaningful only as this condition is understood.

The handbook is designed to serve as a training and community development tool for minority groups, poor whites, and mixed communities who are interested in modifying the content and form of educational services that are delivered to their children. This alternative mode of delivery of educational services operates as a change agent of the context of white racism documented as a feature of the institutions of this country by the National Advisory Council on Civil Disorders. The Council reports, "What white Americans have never fully understood, but what the Negro can never forget, is that white society is implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."

Beginning with that basic premise, it is evident that most large cities have two school systems: one white and one Black and/or other minorities, both controlled by whites. Yet most schools, whether Black or white, continue to be organized and to operate as though racism does not exist. The absence of integrated curricula, the absence of minority groups in leadership positions or in teaching positions in predominantly white schools, and the failure of the schools to educate their students to learn to guard the nation's democratic ideals are neither accidental nor unwitting omissions.

Flowing from the rising consciousness of minority peoples of their condition is a recognition that a counter-racist strategy has to be developed, one which removes racists from control over the lives of minority and poor white children, and enables learners to gain the skills, knowledge, and desire to transform the hostile environment in which they live. The alternative is to blind students and their communities to this reality, to mute their sensitivities to their oppression, rather than enabling them to develop strategies for survival and liberation.

Included among many alternative strategies is the necessity to develop ways and means to ensure that parents, students and community leaders are involved with teachers and school administrators in shaping the content and form of their educational programs. Kenneth Haskins, urban educator and former principal of the Morgan School in Washington, has discussed this necessity as follows:

> Parent participation can be viewed in three ways (and therefore evaluated in three ways, though not necessarily separate): as a right which belongs to parents regardless of the degree of change in any other area than that of parent participation itself; as a positive adjunct to an educational program or as an integral part of it (parent participation in this sense should reflect its value in educational terms, at least for the children and in a limited way for parents); as a necessity, where there is a perceived inability of traditional educators and current sponsors to completely understand and deal with the children they are "educating," either in terms of needs or desires.

The relationship between parent participation and student achievement is becoming increasingly apparent. In cases where parents hold negative attitudes toward the school, the student is inclined to reflect a similar attitude. Involved parents feel better about their schools, and hence their children feel better about learning in those schools. As teachers, parents, and students begin to work together, they begin to learn from and to teach each other, and to perceive the school and the community as being integral parts of the same educational construct. They merge their individual and joint responsibilities into a workable whole.

As participants begin to share with each other what they have learned and experienced, they begin to perceive, many for the first time, that indeed their own children are both human and educable, despite the fact that the society of which they are a part withholds this information from them. The strength of a counter-racist alternative is its potential for helping school and community groups to feel better about themselves, an essential component of any educational process. In a society that is organized against the best interest of minorities and the poor, parent-community involvement is an educational necessity, an eminently human option to the centralized white bureaucratic control of minority group schools.

II. The Role of the Community School Council

One of the very most important assignments of members of the Community School Council is to help free the minds of the students and the adult citizens of the community. It is well known that slavery and present day racism have very carefully and systematically carved out a position of inferiority and servitude for Black people. It is also known that the constant repetition of failure in school, low-paying or no jobs, poor housing, physical abuse and psychological humiliation, poor health conditions, and minimal political power, have resulted in convincing many Black people that they are unworthy, that "Black is Bad", and that Black people are incapable of handling complex intellectual, economic, or political activity.

In essence, what occurs is that when Black people look into the social mirror that white America has created, many Black people are confused and believe the reflections they see there are a true picture of themselves. Not enough Black people can see the picture for what it is: a deliberate, ugly distortion whose purpose it is to keep Black people in a state of self-hate and self-defeat.

Little by little, the current emphasis on Black heritage, Black achievement, and Black power is helping increasingly larger numbers of Afro-Americans to reject the white images and to take on new feelings of confidence and self-worth. More and more the new image of "Black is Beautiful" is developing, and slowly the old feelings of inferiority and powerlessness are being replaced with beliefs of power and worth.

It should be clearly understood, however, that there remain many powerful impediments to the complete psychological freedom of Black and other dark Americans. Three of the primary roadblocks are the following:

First, there is the strong holding power of centuries of automatic responses to white tyranny. In spite of the very positive effects of the Black Movement during the last fifteen years, people who have lost their jobs, their homes, their loved ones and have been, themselves, threatened and brutalized for not staying in their "place" find it extremely difficult to maintain their new images and independence of thought in the face of ever-present punishment for non-conformity. The strength of the new Black Awareness is ever challenged by the psychological remnants of white supremacy.

Second, the closer Black people come to gaining their psychological freedom, the more hazardous the journey becomes. Efforts of the majority to reinforce the old inferiorities become more furious, in a last-ditch attempt to maintain the parent-child, master-servant relationship.

Third, those Black people who are in the most strategic positions to help free other Black people: teachers, ministers, and politicians, are, themselves, too often psychological prisoners of "the system". Those who have the rostrums and the platforms are often too captive or too afraid to set the examples and speak the words which will inspire others toward emancipation.

Armed with the understanding that these three and other impediments will hinder the task, community school council members are, at the same time, better equipped to cope with these obstacles. A clear understanding of the nature of the problem is an important part of the solution.

It is advantageous as strategies are planned that they reflect an accurate analysis of the psychological damage which slavery and racism have inflicted upon Black people. The three impediments cited are by no means intended to be a complete analysis but they are submitted to stimulate the Councils toward developing their own criteria for analysis.

There is great urgency for helping Black people to discard the old racist, self-defeating images and to recognize some of the barriers which will surely be encountered. Further, the necessity for replacing the old image with a new one of self-worth, pride, and dignity is a priority well worth mentioning. Admirable as these qualities are, though, they are not specific enough for program planning and strategy development. Guidelines must be drawn to determine what the new positive image or the new positive Black Self might be.

Recently a black high school student in Dayton complained at a student meeting, "What is wrong with this school is it doesn't turn out Black students." When asked what should a Black student be like, the high school student had difficulty in trying to answer. So did all of the other students at the meeting. Not one of them felt he could give an adequate answer to the question, but most of them had partial answers. As they began to talk with each other, expressing their ideas, a number of desired characteristics began to emerge.

This same question has been posed to various black parents and teachers in the Dayton Model Cities schools. Based on the responses of some students, parents, teachers and administrators, the following profile emerges. It is by no means complete, but is offered as a possible vision of what Black people might expect education to accomplish for their children.

Profile of the New Black Student:

He understands and appreciates his heritage.

He values the worth of Black people in his community and in the larger national and international communities.

He understands himself and values his own personal worth and dignity. Has confidence in himself.

He knows what it means to be a "free man", refusing to be anything less.

He has respect for his parents and teachers, with a full understanding of how race and class bias have determined their behavior.

He has an inquiring mind which is ever questioning the nature of man's historical and contemporary existence.

He has a deep commitment to be a change agent in his own and in the larger Black communities.

He has familiarity with and appreciates the history and culture of other oppressed groups, particularly Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and American Indians.

He is intolerant of injustice in any form to any people and is willing to make great personal sacrifices to eradicate injustice.

He has specific awareness and indepth understanding of the American social and economic system, with *particular knowledge of its overt and covert barriers to Blacks and other dark minorities.*

He has a knowledge of how to cope with or "negotiate" that system, with specific strategies for dealing with unyielding exclusions and oppressions.

He has outstanding skills in the areas of written and oral communication, reading, and mathematics.

He has developed skills of abstract and critical thinking.

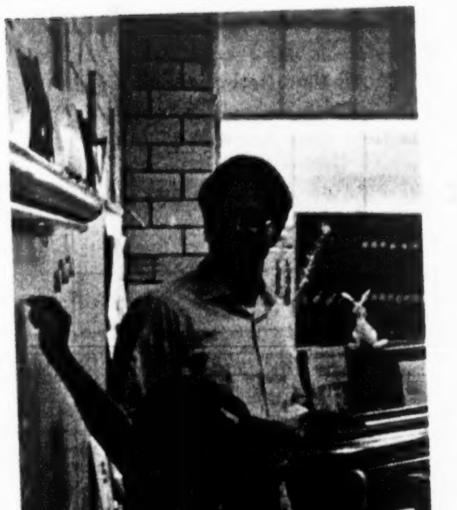
He has developed the criteria for selecting and evaluating alternative ideas and behaviors related to his existence and his future career or vocation.

Based upon his own skills and desires, he has received the kind of education which will permit smooth entry into college or a meaningful job.

He is physically healthy.

Above all, he has been helped to develop the kind of psychic strength which will allow him to survive in the face of forces which will attempt to destroy him because he has become a free man who is trying to free other men.

If one agrees that the foregoing profile is valid, then it logically follows that major changes must take place in the Dayton Model Cities schools and in the thousands of other school complexes throughout the nation whose responsibility it is to educate black pupils.



The Range of Goals and the Decision-Making Processes

Rather than listing specific goals for a community school council, an effort has been made below to identify a range of possible goals, depending on the expected roles that parent/community leaders choose to perform. The accompanying questions are included as study guides.

Table I

Consumer Roles	*Helper-Consumer Roles*	*Participant-Consumer Roles*
1. Identification of Needs/Problems What are the basic causes and problem solution? 2. Reinforcement of the Existing Program What is being reinforced? Is the program worth supporting? 3. Increased Participation Are people involved in meaningless busy work, or does participation lead to concrete change? 4. Liaison Between School & Community Is there cooperation or compliance mutuality or subservience? 5. Guidelines for Evaluation Do parents and students have a systematic method of evaluating their edution?	6. Assistance with Individual Problems How can parent volunteers multiply the time spent by regular classroom teachers for each student? 7. Community Problem-Solving How responsive is the school staff to the community?	8. Advisory Roles How are suggestions received? Are they ever implemented? 9. Participant in Joint (Parent-Staff) Committees as Equals Are people listening to each other? 10. Policy-making Roles Is there exclusive or shared decision-making?

A review of Table I reveals a range of different goals and a suggestion for a combination of goals and parental roles based on the choices made. A decision to establish a policy-making role for parents would permit the inclusion of all of the goals and roles. The number of choices increase as one moves from Consumer Roles to Helper-Consumer Roles to Participant-Consumer Roles. The table then, includes a variety of possibilities dependent on the choices of the particular community school council.

It is instructive to note that the goals mentioned above are largely based on parental roles, and not student roles, nor educational achievement. Neither are they limited to events which take place only within the four walls of the school. The assumption here is that the necessity for meaningful parent involvement is derived from the failure of existing school systems to educate the minorities and the poor effectively, and to integrate a concern for social problems into their educational programs.

The policy-making role requires further elaboration since, in addition to decision-making and evaluating the implementation of those decisions, it offers greater opportunities for holding the educational staff accountable. In such instances, policy-making bodies should have the power to make the ultimate decision with appropriate consultation in the following areas: hiring, firing and promotion of school staff; purchasing of books, supplies, equipment, food services; expenditure of funds - local, state and federal; site selection, design and construction of schools; and establishing educational policy, shaping school-community curriculum and special educational programs and activities.

Maximum local school-community autonomy or school-community control is best understood when one considers the right of communities to be involved in those decisions that affect them, and to control the network of internal power relationships within their own communities. In fact, this is not a challenge to the powers of the central system but a legitimate exercise of one's democratic prerogatives. It includes two categories of decisions, exclusive and shared. Exclusives consist either of those which can only be made by the central system of of those which can only be made by the local community. Shared decisions are those in which the central system and the local community together arrive at a decision.

Such a plan requires that the central system confirms legitimate local decisions, and advocates on behalf of local interests when the ultimate power rests with the central system. When more than one community finds itself in competition, the central board may act to negotiate with the community rather than make unilateral decisions.

It is the continuing responsibility of local school-community groups to identify those decisions which fall exclusively within its purview and to learn how to participate in shared decision-making with the central system. The community school council should also operate to ensure that the central board does not expand its decision-making areas so as to usurp the rights of local community school councils.

It is vitally important to understand the varying levels of participation in the decision-making process. This knowledge is significant as a guide to learning how to participate in the process and how to ensure relevance of decision-making. The issue of who makes or shapes the ultimate decision is crucial since people usually make decisions in their own interest. Hopefully the community school council will come to perceive the positive value of making collective and consensus-oriented decisions as a support for building workable relationships and community unity.

Table II

Levels of Participation in Decision-Making

Support of Issues and Ideas
Contribution of Ideas and Information
Reinterpretation. Redefinition of and Evaluation of Ideas and Information Presented by Others
Substitution of New Ideas for Those Previously Submitted
Participation in Voting or Other Modes of Decision-Making
Shaping the Ultimate Decisions
Making the Ultimate Decisions

While Table II outlines the levels of participation in the decision-making process, it must be understood that these levels occur within the framework of a given structure based on the distribution of authority and responsibility. Such a distribution occurs in the following categories: unilateral decisions by school staff; advisory role by community school council; joint decision-making by school and community; policy-making by community school council.

In the latter instance the parents would be in the majority and would be charged with the major responsibility for policy-making. This differs from joint decision-making by school and community where there frequently is not a duly-elected and representative body of parents. In addition, such decision-making usually takes place at the whim of the principal and not as a basic right and responsibility. Hopefully, however, even a policy-making community school council will attempt to achieve a joint-decision-making process as a means to ensure effective implementation of their decisions.

The key implementers of decisions are the principal and the teaching staff, including para-professionals. It is their role to translate the decisions into action and to participate jointly with the community school council in the evaluation of these actions.

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III. The Process of Establishing a Community School Council

The process by which one establishes a community school council is a major determinant in achieving the educational goals of utmost concern to Black and poor people and their children. Advocates of meaningful parental involvement continually must find the ways and means to respond to the following three questions:

1. How does one enable parents to want to exercise their rights and obligation to function in an advisory and/or policy-making capacity in the education of their children?
2. How does one enable community school councils to learn to develop a followership which is capable of holding it accountable, and an appropriate structure and process to sustain followership interest and participation?
3. How does a community school council develop a workable relationship with central boards and school systems (particularly unions and middle management principals and teachers) so that it increases its ability to exercise conflict-free decisions on behalf of its own children?

In addressing these strategic questions, it is clear that the first requires a community education program directed toward parents, school staff, and community leaders, the second requires a workable structure and procedure, and the third requires operational skills.

Establishing Community Preparedness.
Many parents are reluctant to get involved in school affairs because they fear that reprisals will be taken against their children by the school system, or against themselves by employers, the Welfare Department, or similar agencies. Their fears are not completely unfounded. Efforts should be undertaken to get parents to identify such fears (if they exist) and to help them overcome them. Three strategies are suggested: Understanding Rights, Relating Rights to a Community Educational Philosophy, and Learning Involvement.

Understanding Rights.
Help parents to understand their rights and how to protect them. Test whether or not the rights which are presumed to exist are, in fact, operative. Such rights include those of appeal, access to information, dissent, rights of students and student organizations, confidentiality of information concerning individual students and families.

Relating to a Community Educational Philosophy.
The values of various groups in the community reflect a deep concern for the greatest possible development of the intellectual, emotional, and physical character of every person in that community. These values are stated more explicitly in the following:

(a) The Students.

All children are human and educable. They possess creative capabilities and potential.

All children have a right to have that which is of value to them accredited and respected within the classroom. That "something of value" includes his cultural heritage, his religious beliefs, his aspirations, his ethnic backgrounds, his perception of himself and his sense of worth.

(b) The Families.

All families have a right to have access to the basic necessities of life: food, shelter, clothing and the opportunity to enjoy and express their own interests as long as they do not violate the rights of others.

All families have a non-negotiable right to be involved in shaping the policy and content of the educational programs serving their own children.

All families have a right to expect that a democratic society will guard and enhance their right to achieve and exercise their fullest potential.

The educational process should strengthen, not weaken, family relationships.

(c) School Staff.

Employees of the school system are the servants of the people.

Deep down many teachers want their children to learn whether or not they are capable of teaching them.

Professionals are expected to be evaluated on the basis of their performance and their ability to enable parents and students to participate in this process.

An effective principal understands the relationship between teacher attitudes and student achievement; family security and student potential.

(d) The School and Its Purpose.

The school exists to serve the educational needs of the community and not those of the central system.

The school is an integral part of the community.

It must be a living laboratory for learning how to make democracy work on behalf of all of its members as against a place where democracy is imposed as a hollow ideology.

Corporal punishment, school suspensions, excessive failures, track systems, white racist rule, double standards, compensatory education (educational reparations), negative labeling, nonphysical violence and autocratic rule have no place in the production of human beings through the vehicle of education.

Learning Involvement.

Parents need to be helped to get involved. One way to bring about this learning, after they understand their rights and the community's educational philosophy, is to involve them in helping the school staff to relate to the local community. As they do so, they become involved themselves.

The activities listed below are not meant as an exhaustive list, nor do they necessarily apply to every community, Furthermore, it is hoped that involvement on various levels reflects the needs and priorities set by the community school council itself.

(1) Staff Selection and Recruitment: Give priority to local residents in staff recruitment and hiring but not the ultimate priority.

(2) Locale of Meetings, School Events, etc: Hold committee meetings - grade level, executive, etc. in homes or local non-school facilities.

Establish a local non-school facility as a school community social center. Plan weekly breakfasts, social hours, luncheon meetings, etc. Use a storefront, a meeting room in a local church or bar, etc.

Encourage school staff and others to patronize local businesses.

Invite school staff to local social

events: Meetings, weddings, parties, picnics, and outings.

Keep the school staff informed about local happenings: through newsletters, newspapers, flyers, pamphlets, a community bulletin board in the school, through personal contacts, etc.

Abolish teacher room and staff toilets and integrate them into "community toilets. Students need to know that teachers have bowel movements.

Encourage community organizations to "adopt a class", to finance trips to plan community tours and study, to locate employment and to develop "my brother's brother" kinds of relationships and not Big Brother relationships with the students. Encourage such groups to present citations to deserving teachers and students.

(3) Corporal Punishment: Abolish corporal punishment and insist that teachers begin to learn how to handle student behavior in the classroom as a part of the educational process. Remember violence begets violence.

(4) Suspensions: Prohibit school suspensions and develop strategies to enable students to utilize the educational experience productively. Protect the right of students to be themselves and to learn by doing so.

(5) Open School: Organize regular class and school visitations by parents - and feed-back the collective reactions of the parents to the respective school staff.

Keep the school open on weekends and evenings for use by community groups, etc. Weddings, funerals, card parties and political meetings should be held in the school.

The "gate-keeping" function should be exercised by community members and not just by the school staff. The community knows who should be allowed into the schools.

Encourage the school to utilize local residents as guest lecturers, speakers, etc. - in the areas of their special experience and knowledge.

(6) Accountability: Develop an instrument and a process for enabling students, parents and community leaders to evaluate the school program, the staff and to participate in shaping the educational goals of the school. Monthly reports should be sent home dealing with: Teacher Turnover; Teacher Absences; School Dropouts, if any; School Emergencies; Problems of Vandalism and Theft; Calendar of Special Events: on a classroom level, grade level or school-wide level; Financial Income and Expenditures.

A Parent-controlled Grievance Committee should be established. This committee should be available to parents and staff to elicit problems and concerns.

Encourage teachers to prepare a one-page statement which clearly outlines their goals for the year. Encourage them to hold meetings with parents to ensure a clear understanding of the goals and to elicit parent opinions and reactions. The same discussions should be held with their students.

(7) "Teaching" the Teachers: Teachers should be required to have their students and their parents teach the teachers about the local community mores, values and customs such as language, behavioral patterns, etc. An "Open Community Month" should be established during which time all homes have to be visited by teachers.

The first ten minutes and the last ten minutes of every day should be used by the students to teach teachers about "how it was in the local community last night" and "what kind of a day it has been", respectively.

The officers of the individual school councils, the principal, student leaders and key teachers should hold weekly "staff meetings" in the school.

(8) Classroom Assignments: Students should be given classroom assignments designed to bring the home and school closer together. Interviews with parents on critical social issues, eliciting of parent attitudes toward school, childhood experiences, etc. should become an integral part of the students learning.

(9) Parent-Directed School-Community Studies: Parents should be enabled and assisted to collect information on community interests, attitudes and aspirations as a way to help the community to relate to the school.

(10) Justification and Mediation: Most issues are not really settled by a vote or by the exercise of power by those in school.

Develop a means for resolving conflict, settling disagreements or breaking log jams by supporting principals, students, teachers and parents only when they are right.

Require all the participants to justify why they acted in certain ways and to listen to reactions to others about their assessments.

Settle disagreements through the use of impartial mediators or by negotiation.

Building Community Understanding.

The process of establishing a community school council, if effective, will result in building operational unity, in increasing the number of people who are interested and able to participate in identifying weaknesses and strengths of their own program, and in gauging the strength of the opposition.

Concentrate on the process of community-building, and not just the issues. In cases where issues can be consciously selected, the extent to which the issues generate community solidarity becomes a criterion of selection. It is not necessary to attempt to educate the majority: concentrate your attention on the strategic "local influentials" and "opinion makers" - clergy, beauticians, bankers, businessmen, community workers, block leaders, numbers men, doctors, social workers, politicians, youth leaders, organizational representatives, the bench sitters, the people in the laundromat and so forth. Have them play the message back to you in their own words to be sure that they understand you. Then, ask them to speak with specific people, and to put the message on the informal grapevine: When it comes back to you on the grapevine, listen carefully to find out what is being communicated. Ask questions in order to learn more about what is being said.

Other selected techniques are:

Getting to know who knows who, so that one will know the other people each person can talk with freely.

Encouraging the development of buddy-buddy systems wherein the buddies "agree" to keep each other informed.

Dropping in at the social centers - beauty parlor, laundromat, etc. - and encouraging people to question you.

Focusing on personal contacts, not paper flyers, pamphlets, etc.

Developing a list of key telephone

numbers and getting to know the secretaries of those who have them.

Returning telephone calls, keeping promises and showing up when one is needed; the only time it really counts!

Helping people to evaluate issues, to explore alternative strategies and to get involved in learning what has to be done.

Encouraging the development of meetings in homes, speaking engagements, student assignment, essay contests, newspaper and TV programs where ideas are discussed, not sold.

Keeping a running record of those who give evidence of a deepening understanding of the issues: getting them invited to meet with others: in churches, civic groups, etc.

Inviting speakers and consultants in from other cities to local forums and workshops. Invite professionals, community interns and parents from other communities.

Focusing activities on organizations: providing them with materials and speakers; inviting them to canvass their neighborhoods; to convene conferences and meetings.

Helping people to get to know you as a person.

Being whomever you think you are and not what others want you to be.

Helping people to learn how to keep you honest; to prevent even you from manipulating them.

Helping people begin to feel good about themselves: help them understand and learn from their mistakes, compliment them when they deserve it.

Educating the antagonists; attempting to get them linked to the movement.

Avoiding false promises - or any promises at all.

Remembering the students should be a full part of this effort.

The effectiveness of this effort can be measured in the following ways:

One hears about the issue at formal and informal gatherings.

Individuals and organizations begin to put the issue on their meeting agendas.

The request for materials, speakers and information begins to increase.

More local residents begin to explain to you what's going on.

Individuals and organizations begin to subscribe to community control/decentralization publications.

The rate of school visitations begins to increase; school principals and teachers begin to attend meetings in the community.

Former strangers get to know each other.

Regular meeting attenders begin to bring their friends with them; more strangers begin to attend meetings.

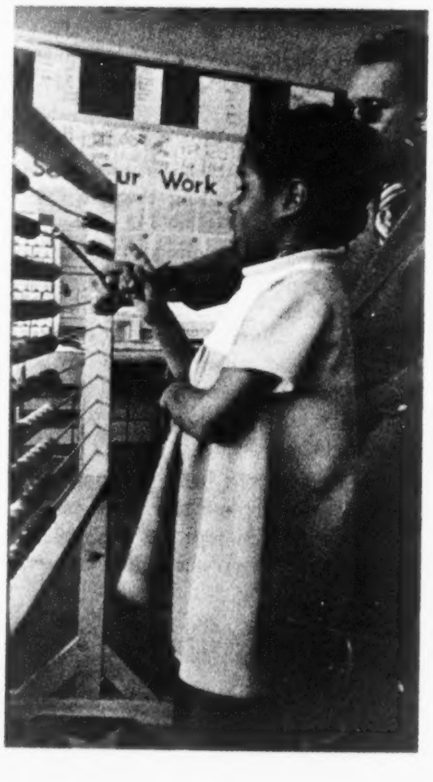
Relationships of the Community School Council to Other Systems

The community school council must learn to deal with principals, district superintendents, and the school superintendents. Since the principals will be responsible to or working with the community school council several suggestions are submitted:

1. Involve him fully in the affairs of the council,
2. Meet with him regularly in the school,
3. See that he is invited to community meetings,
4. Ask for regular written reports from him to be distributed to the parents,
5. Develop a meaningful relationship with him; help him to learn how to advocate on behalf of the students,

6. Help him to share his professional problems with you and then try to help him solve them on a joint basis,
7. Encourage him to keep the individual council in his school fully informed, and
8. Establish a network of committees to enable him to involve parents and benefit from their inputs: financial committee, personnel committee, program committee and student relations.

Efforts should be made to convert both the district and school superintendent into advocates for the local community, and to ensure that they keep the local community informed. Other systems to which the community school council should relate are: the state board of education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, mayor's office, and other local agencies - welfare, health, Model Cities programs and so forth. The suggestion here is that two-way relationships be established on two levels: (1) written - get on the mailing lists for news releases and reports, study the newspapers daily, review calendars for public hearings, and (2) personal - establish liaison with a person inside of each one of these agencies. Use them as "consultants" by inviting them to interpret agency policies. The same kind of contact should be maintained with elected officials.



IV. Composition and Structure of a Community School Council

The community school/decentralization movement differs from the regular system, not only in relation to the role of the parents in the educational process, but also in its broader interpretation of the concept of education. It is more than that which goes on within the classroom; the community and the school become inseparable. The community school teacher is concerned with more than that which takes place within her classroom, a concern for the total school is required. A student must be perceived as a member of a family and as a member of the community: community pressures or community support have a bearing on his ability to achieve within the school.

Every effort should be made to make it possible for community school council participants to obligate themselves to discharge their responsibilities to their communities and their schools. Teachers should have an opportunity to meet with their colleagues in order to aptly represent the views of the other teachers. Students should be afforded a chance to meet with other students. Parent meetings should be called for the express purpose of informing the parent representatives. Where necessary, babysitting, telephone, travel and meal costs should be met for all participants. The composition of the community school council is largely affected by the opportunities provided to guarantee full participation of its members.

Composition

Community school council should recruit, encourage and sustain the full participation of parents, students, community leaders, administrators (including principals) and teachers.

The community school council should consist of one large council with representatives from every school in the target area, and a number of similar councils, one in each school in the target area. The following diagram reflects the structure of the Dayton Community School Council, consisting of elementary and secondary schools in the target area of the Dayton Model Cities program. One must distinguish the Dayton Community School Council, which includes over one hundred people – parents, students, principals, PTA presidents, and teachers, from the smaller community school councils for each school.

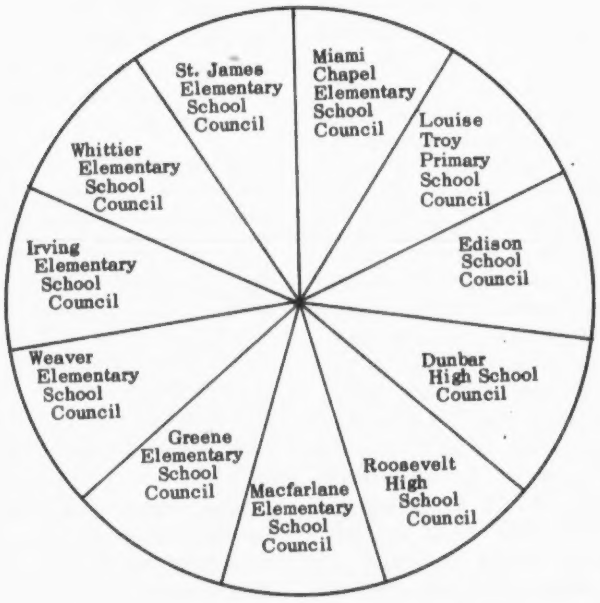
Each school selects six parents, one student, two teachers, (all of whom are democratically elected from their respective constituencies) and the principal and PTA president. These eleven people make up the community school council for that school. These people then select their own officers: a chairman, a vice-chairman, and a secretary. All eleven people, however, are representatives to the Dayton Community School Council.

The large Dayton Community School Council has no officers. Meetings, held once every two weeks, are presided over by a rotating chairmanship. In order to maintain the flow of communication between the Model Cities Planning Council and the Dayton Community School Council, the four members of the Model Cities Planning Council Education Committee attend the large group meetings.

Establishing a Process of Selection.

Minority group communities have been trapped into participating in election to ensure democracy. In actuality such elections tend to "divide and conquer" and to split such communities. Importantly such elections permit the broader community, with its greater resources to influence such elections from the outside. In addition, the decision to hold an election is usually imposed from the outside. This occurs even though mayors, superintendent of schools, boards of education and the like are granted the privilege of appointing persons, many of whom would not win an election in which the local residents were the voters.

The community should decide the manner in which it selects those persons whom it wishes to represent it on the community school council. This is a non-negotiable right. Such persons can be selected in a variety of ways: appointment, consensus, designation by organizations, election. The process selected should result in improved community unity and should avoid pitting


St. James Elementary School Council
Miami Chapel Elementary School Council
Louise Troy Primary School Council
Edison School Council
Dunbar High School Council
Roosevelt High School Council
Macfarlane Elementary School Council
Greene Elementary School Council
Weaver Elementary School Council
Irving Elementary School Council
Whittier Elementary School Council

6 Parents, 2 Teachers, 1 Principal, 1 PTA President, 1 Student persons and/or organizations against each other. In addition, it should be a process by which accountability to the local community is increased. The resultant community school council should be one which represents the entire community and not just special segments of it such as "teachers", "students", "administrators", or the "teachers union".

Establishing Qualifications

Some criteria should be developed for membership on the community school council. The criteria should relate to:

Understanding of the issues.

Advocacy on behalf of local interests.

Demonstrated interest and participation.

Availability.

Ability to deal with whites without "scratching one's head": lack of fear; unable to be intimated.

Inability to be compromised by job offers, praise, etc.

Ability to deal with children humanely.

Ability and willingness to learn: reflective, suspends judgement, asks questions.

Respected by local residents: street people included.

Membership in at least one local organization.

Willing to represent the views of others, when appropriate.

Ability to get angry, when appropriate.

A minimum of hang-ups - Black-white; male-female; boss-workers, etc.

Committed to serve the people.

Other selected criteria might also be developed in relation to the definitions of parents, teachers, students and administrators relating to number of children in school, years of service, grade level, past performance, etc.

Ensuring Representativeness

As mentioned it is suggested that parents, students, teachers and community leaders serve on the community school council. Each school should be involved in developing qualifications and determining how its candidates are selected as a basic necessity. All candidates should be in favor of community control/decentralization efforts. Those who are against it should not be afforded a right to vote. Rather, they should be offered an opportunity to transfer or to function as part of the centralized system in relating to the principal. The purpose of this process is to decrease conflict and to protect the right of dissenters to dissent without imposing their will on the community. Some schools, then, will end up with dual kinds of staff: centralized and decentralized/community-controlled.

The two groups can meet separately, when appropriate. The point is that any teacher, parent or student who is against community control/decentralization should not be permitted to participate in the selection of candidates for the community school council.

Each school should develop a position statement on the subject with which all candidates must agree to be considered for selection. Students should be involved in this process along with parents. Each candidate should meet the qualifications established by the respective schools. Candidates, should not be permitted to campaign but should submit themselves to interviews by the various participants: teachers, students, parents and community leaders. After the interviews, the candidates should decide for themselves if they still want to be considered for election.

The resultant candidates should be

involved in the identification of important local issues.

Participation of the Students.

It should be kept in mind that the students are the main target of attention: organizational development is being undertaken on their behalf and to protect their right to a decent education. Their involvement in this effort should be an integral part of their education, for example:

1. Class meetings should be held on the subject of community control/decentralization.
2. Each student should be helped to interview at least two community residents on the subject, and develop as a class assignment.
3. Poster contests should be arranged.
4. Meetings with all candidates should be held.
5. Dramatic skits should be staged.
6. Racism and education should be discussed in the classroom. The track system, school suspensions, corporal punishment, school push-out procedures, white-controlled integration, authentic integration, Black community control, etc. should be discussed in the classroom. Students should be involved in visiting the welfare department, the police department, etc. and discussions held of the experiences felt.
7. Student-directed meetings should be encouraged both within and outside the school and among different student bodies.

Identification of Important Local Issues.

A block by block survey should be made to identify the ten most important local issues: housing, unemployment, health services, narcotics, police brutality, need for recreational facilities, consumer problems, traffic and transportation, segregation/discrimination, in addition to the traditional educational problems: poor student achievement, lack of effective Black leadership, need for Black teachers, and so forth.

This information should become the basis for determining which of the qualified are most qualified. Their views on these issues will help the community to evaluate them. Some guidelines for evaluating the views of the candidates are:

Do they blame the community or the system?

Do they understand the consequences of white institutional racism on the life of the community?

What is their attitude toward the poor? Understanding?

Do they want the guidance of the community or do they want to lead the community?

The Pre-Selection Meeting.

A community-wide forum should be held to enable the community to hear a report on the ten issues which were identified. Each candidate should be prepared to speak on at least two of the issues.

An informal gathering should precede and follow the forum to allow the community to meet the candidates.

A representative committee from each school should be established with candidates sitting on each committee. The purpose of this committee should be that of defining the duties and responsibilities of the community school council. This will enable the candidates to get to know key people in the community and vice versa.

Structure:

The number and types of officers are responsibilities which must be determined by the community school council.

In general, it is proposed that: the chairman be a parent, the majority of the officers be parents and that parents serve as chairmen of all committees such as financial, grievance, personnel, educational policy, community relations, and day-to-day interim action. The total council should be comprised predominantly of parents.

In order to affect vitally needed communication and relations among and between the council and the general community, it is recommended that a selected representative from each council form a community relations committee and elect a chairman to be ratified by the total community school council. Each council should select an alternate who attends all meetings. The committee should work only on problems that are common to all schools represented in the total community school council – providing mutual support when dealing with boards of education, local state and federal agencies, citizens planning groups and coalitions, and collaborating in the planning and developing of community-wide efforts. Committee members should attend one another's meetings as observers, share ideas and experiences as well as attend other community meetings where issues affect the school-community program. Other suggested program ideas for the committee are: publication and circulation of annual and other important reports, distribution of news releases through the schools for home delivery and the community at large, announcement of meetings, when appropriate, through the mass media, and maintenance of the community school council library.

Each individual school council has a responsibility for developing a process for relating to its constituency and must identify key students, parents, and community leaders who will assist them in ensuring a two-way flow of information between them and their reference groups. The key contacts should be urged to propose agenda ideas and to report back to their own reference groups – "brothers on the block," PTA members, civic, religious, and social clubs, and grade level class members – about what happens at the community school council meetings. Additionally, the community school council should encourage PTA/PTO/PA members and officers, block club members and captains and grade level volunteers to attend the council meetings on a regular basis.

Initiating a plan to enable the community school council to reach the reference groups mentioned above and establishing a means of immediate identification and communication are essential. This can be accomplished by establishing a system that keeps the following information current:

Number of students in each school, by grade level, sex, age, ethnicity, block in which they reside, and telephone number.
Number of families per school.
Test scores by student, grade level, sex, ethnicity, and age.
Total capacity enrollment of the school – actually enrolled as compared with recommended numbers by fire and health standards and the number of students the school was originally built to serve.
Names of teachers by room number, subject matter and grade level, home address and telephone.
School organization chart including name, address, telephone number.
  Principal
  Other administrators
  Department heads
  Teachers/CommunityInterns/Paraprofessionals

- PTA/PTO/PA organizations - name, address, telephone number
  - *Officers*
  - *Active members*
  - *Volunteers (general and specific functions)*
  - *Grade level volunteers*
- Student Government - name, address, telephone number
  - *Officers*
  - *Classroom representatives*
  - *Special Committees and officers*
- Block clubs - name, address, telephone number
  - *Officers*
  - *Committees and chairmen*
- Families having children in school by block and other necessary information to complement council program
- Community School Council - name, address, telephone number
  - *Officers*
  - *Members*
  - *Committees and or Task Forces and chairmen*

The above information should be compiled and discussed at community school council meetings with students and parents in order to inform them of the value, purpose and usage of communication in community organizations and then sent home with written instructions on how to use it. Information and instructions should be included in a "community school council information guide" along with other pertinent practical knowledge about the school-community and kept on file in the home and the community school office for immediate reference. Representatives of the council should be requested to visit the homes within his school district to interpret the information to the families as well as the purpose of the community school council.

Rather than the school compiling the traditional school profiles on students and their families, information should be made known to teachers about the housing conditions, access to health services, sources of income including welfare and/or unemployment insurances) as it relates to students. This information when compiled and understood, should become the source for the development of curriculum, PTA/PTO/PA programs, and school-community action in which the students are involved as learner-participants. Problems should be brought to the attention of the community school council, the central board and other agencies. These issues must be understood, accepted and solved to benefit the students.

Social protests by students around the problems which their classmates suffer should not be overlooked. In instances where the schools serve students under the age of twelve, these students should be involved in student government activities, encouraged to present their ideas to the community school council and enabled to discuss their problems with school personnel and parents.

The community school council should maintain an office in the school, preferably in the community room where parents may come in to volunteer their services, for social purposes or to register complaints. Further, every opportunity should be afforded the parent to take his complaint directly to the teacher, principal or other appropriate school personnel. Copies of all community school council minutes should be kept on file, pamphlets, notices, and school programs, in the office, for easy review and inspection by parents and students.

The overall importance for keeping the school-community informed cannot be overemphasized. Regular communication ensures the parents' rights to be kept informed, to participate in decisionmaking, to shape and make ultimate decisions and propels the council to develop systematic procedures for establishing liaison with individual school councils, principals, teachers, students, parents and various community organizations.

V. Power of the Community School Council

Power is the ability to influence or change a condition. In human terms power means the ability of a person or a group of people to make a difference. It is almost an axiom of human behavior for people who have power to use it in their own interest. For some, the borders of this interest may stop with one individual. Others enlarge the scope of interest to include their family, neighborhood, community, county, or even world, because they recognize the frail interdependency of people in all these environments.

The concept of a community school council honors the latter understanding of power, because it views the school and community as extensions of each other; what happens in one greatly influences what goes on in the other.

Because the community school council in the form described here is relatively new, council members will soon discover that much of the power they assume will be carved out as much by their actions and participation as by the decisions they make more formally.

The powers of the community school council will depend largely on several issues, namely:

1. Whether it has an advisory or a policy-making function.
2. Whether its efforts are deliberately undermined, cooperatively encouraged or left alone by the central board.
3. Whether it is able to develop a meaningful relationship with its constituency.
4. Whether it can develop an effective consensus among its members.
5. Whether it can operate in non-exploitative ways, i.e., decrease the possibility that it mobilizes local opposition.
6. Whether or not it can avoid unnecessary conflict with its staff - and can act - humanely toward them.
7. Whether or not it can have a positive impact on the lives of the students.

The powers of an advisory council are largely dependent on the systems that are being advised. The advisory council has no power to make decisions; it merely served as advisor. Suggested powers for a policy-making council were listed earlier. However, a given policy-making council may have fewer powers than were listed.

Certainly the mere possession of power does not ensure one that if one exercises it, it will work. The exercise and the "cooperation" of those over whom the power is exercised determines the outcomes. Moreover, if its application does not have a positive impact on those for whom it was exercised, it is useless.

Power can be used to empower others, if one who possesses power sees his destiny as being tied to the destinies of others - and learns to share it with them. Those who make the best use of power are those who use it infrequently but effectively.

One can begin to develop or expand one's role as an individual council member of collective councils, when he begins to formulate programs and strategies of implementation. An appropriate start is to begin to formulate answers to the following questions:

A. How do community school council members, first, put their own house in order? Assuming that the training events of the first year have been positively instructive, what more needs to be done within the council to assume that its members have taken on the new attitudes which are desired for students?

B. What kinds of attitudes and behaviors of teachers, counselors and administrators are desired? How shall the councils reinforce positive behaviors and attitudes, and discourage negative ones?

C. What kind of co-operative efforts can be effected by students, parents and educational personnel to change the attitudinal environment of the schools?

D. What kinds of curricular changes are necessary to support the new Black student image?

E. How can the basic skills of communication, reading and mathematics be taught so that they contribute to the students' overall impressions of themselves as worthy, and also enrich academically competent individuals already skilled in the language of discourse and numbers?

F. How can other subject areas such as social studies, humanities (music, art, literature), and foreign languages be taught so that students perceive themselves accurately in the context of a multi-national, multi-cultural past and present?

G. How can vocational education be changed so that Black pupils are no longer being denied admission to those programs or if they are admitted they no longer are being trained for jobs that are either poor-paying or that are going out of existence? How can vocational programs be devised that train Black and other minorities for the job demands of a computerized technological society?

Some General Principles About Power

Answering these questions, thus effective positive change for the education of Black and other minority group children presupposes that the community school council becomes aware of some general principles about those in power: People in power tend to "divide and conquer" those over whom they have power; their language is designed to keep "the people" in their places and is one of oppression which is designed to get the oppressed to identify with the oppressors. Those in power put out the messages, "You can't fight City Hall," and "Don't ever underestimate the opposition."

Usually, those in power are more skillful in expanding their spheres of influence over those in their "charge" than they are in limiting their power. Unlimited power leads to an exploitative relationship with the powerful victimizing the Black and minority poor into a position of powerlessness. Consequently, the powerless too frequently tend to identify with those in power and to substitute their own values for the value of those in power. The victimized, on the other hand, acquire the skills - coping, resistance, and survival - to exercise power from a presumably powerless position. They identify with those in power as a tactic only and not as a basic philosophy. Those in power have a need to be loved by those over whom they have power. Such love manifests itself as a controlling device rather than as mutual interest and effect. Respect exercised in this case is a reward for deference. Stated another way, those in power reward "the people" below them whose behavior can be predicted and controlled. Finally, power can corrupt, but it can also be utilized to humanize relationships and to liberate the oppressed. This then must be the guiding principle of the community school council in its effort to seek to bring more parents and students into positions where they may express more control over the educational destiny of their communities.

Changing Power Relationships

All confrontations, if successful must terminate with a negotiation for a settlement or for a plan of implementation of the program deriving from the settlement. Remember that a successful negotiation leads to an agreement to work together. Communities should confront themselves before confronting the system and in so doing must:

(a) develop a procedure and a process for determining who speaks for them - and the criteria for selecting such spokesman,
(b) develop techniques and processes for achieving "operational unity" among the various special interest groups within such communities,
(c) identify those decisions that can be made about their communities only by their communities.
(d) identify those issues which are felt and experienced and which, if effectively dealt with, will bring about an alleviation of pressures and the freeing of local energy for self-development,
(e) study and understand the nature of decision-making - informal and formal - within institutions and how personnel can be converted into advocates for the local community in pursuit of their own special interests,
(f) organize and educate one's constituency as to the issues and how they can lend their efforts by educating others, and
(g) develop a plan to mute and/or neutralize the expression of opposing sentiments by other "local influentials" who do not speak for the local community. (When such persons speak out, they should be urged to identify for whom they speak).

Teachers and principals should be helped to learn how to work with parents, students and legitimate community leaders and how to learn to be held accountable by them. In addition, the community school council must acquire the skills to enable the principal to do his job and reduce the pressure of the centray system on him. It must ensure his right to be creative and advocate in the interests of students.

Among a variety of change strategies, the following are suggested:

(a) legislative change,
(b) action by the local board of education,
(c) progression from PTA/PA's to advisory committees to policy-making committees: following a procedure of "getting one's foot in the door first",
(d) volunteer activities to learn how the school operates and to help the students, parents, teachers and principals learn the value of meaningful parent participation,
(e) systematic cataloging of the problems of the system and education of the community,
(f) continuing and systematic evaluation of the school's programs,
(g) require that teachers and principals write out their educational goals for the year,
(h) foster heightened student investment in learning; assist their families in overcoming social problems and barriers to learning,
(i) involve community organizations - churches, youth groups, sororities, fraternities, civic, business and so-

cial organizations - in understanding the relationship of local educational programs to their destinies,
(j) develop a system of awards for meaningful educational participation, and
(k) make education a family issue.

Community school council members should visit the school regularly, observe classes, offer support, talk with the students about their needs and interests. Further, they should support the right and need of students to be taught how to learn rather than be constantly reminded of the fact that they are "children". Members should review the procedures of the school as they relate to the use of corporal punishment, suspensions, leaving and entering the school, homework assignments, and so forth. They should know what is expected of the students and make available to them the opportunities to live up to the expectations. All participants should be involved in the process of changing power relationships but the students should provide the key to change. What they say and feel is very important.

VI. Community School Project Appraisal and Conclusions

Once the collective efforts of the council - the teachers and administrators, the students, and other parents - begin to have a positive impact on the self-concepts of the students and the rest of the community, the work has only begun. While it is absolutely necessary that students believe in themselves and in their own people, it is also required that they move beyond the "rapping" state of "Black is Beautiful"; just as "civil rights" is an empty victory if the children have not also become Beautiful Black readers and mathematicians, who will later become Beautiful Black scientists, engineers, businessmen and other well-paid professionals and skilled workers.

The community school council task and that of the schools is to combine the qualities of Beautiful Black personhood with intellectual and skill competency. For over the long haul, a child cannot continue to feel good about himself, if he has not been taught the proficiencies which make for success in school and ultimately in the pursuit of his life's work and personal worth and happiness.

Council members should expect and demand that their children be honored as the beautiful Black children they are, but should be equally adamant that the children be taught to read, to think and to compute well.

In visits to the classrooms, one should be looking for evidence that black heritage and culture are a part of the on-going curriculum, and one should also be looking for demonstrations that the students are handling their academics excellently.

Among all the requirements that one has a right to expect of those who educate his children, perhaps two requirements stand like beacons above the rest. These two are belief and accountability. They are related but they are not the same. Belief means that educational personnel have high regard, sometimes love, for the children, that the children are thought to be capable and worthy of learning and deserving of the best efforts possible. Belief is attitude; it is also theory. Accountability is performance which is measured, documented and reported; it is putting into practice the positive beliefs that are held. Educational personnel must be accountable by their students, and their parents, and by the community. It is possible to give evidence of positive beliefs by "talking Black", wearing a dashiki or an Afro, or by supporting students in their demands, but none of this adds up to accountability unless these educators are actually doing a first-rate job of teaching, counseling or administering saleable educational skills which have short and long term benefits. Accountable personnel are those who produce. Oratory and clothing are symbols not substance. The symbols can be significant; the substance is everything.

The community must demand that all educational personnel, Black or white, perform or step down. Educational personnel should have high standards and high expectations for student achievement. This does not mean that they will expect all students to achieve and perform at the same rate, or that some students won't need special help. It does mean that no student will be given up on, that all students will be treated as if they were the children of the most powerful families in the community. High expectations, fair treatment, and high performance are the hallmarks of accountability.

Belief and accountability, when demonstrated over a period of time, should beget loyalty and support from the councils and the remainder of the community. For example, a principal who has selflessly and tirelessly worked to bring the new positive images and academic excellence to his school is probably in danger. He has worked hard to do the very thing that may cost him his job. When the hand of oppression does touch him, council members, teachers and the community must carry his standard. They must let the board of education members, and teachers know that the people will not be intimidated, because the council and the community will not permit it! Those who serve well will be protected.

On the other hand, those school board members, superintendents, central office administrators and school personnel who attempt to thwart justice and Black progress should know that they are the council's special assignment. They should know that council efforts to remove them will be ceaseless.

Keep in mind, however, that almost all individuals and organizations would prefer to think that they take certain courses of action because they have chosen to do so. Therefore, one who wishes to change policies or procedures would be well advised to begin by showing that certain new courses of action are in the best interest of all. Combined with the presentation of the suggestions, there should be communication that power and organization lie behind these suggestions; hence, they must not be ignored.

After a reasonable waiting period -- determined by the nature and cost of the policies or changes desired -- if there are no affirmative responses, the suggestions should be escalated to demands. It is probably good strategy to place additional items in the new demands; one must determine which items are negotiable and which ones are not.

Again, bear in mind that the potential for achievement of the council's demands will depend upon the amount of power, real or apparent, that the council is able to muster, not upon the justice of the cause.

The important point here is that power structures should be given the opportunity to respond to suggestions, because the suggestions or demands are just and should be implemented anyway. When they do not respond, however, appropriate pressure should be applied.

The relationship between the central board of education and the locally-based community school council is a case in point. The following selected criteria help illustrate this relationship:

Staff from the central board and administration begin to attend local meetings by invitation only. Such staff tend to function as "company agents" for the central board and as "eavesdroppers" to collect data on how the central board can implement its own plan with or without the consent of the local community.

The local community benefits in economic terms from participating in planning.

The power to select staff and disburse funds is vested in the hands of the local group.

The central board clears with or consults with the local group before initiating any plans within the local area.

There is a regular exchange of information-formally and informally - between the central board and the local community.

Items are not put on the agenda of public hearings unless cleared with the local community.

The central board shares information fully with the local group.

The local community begins to "feel its oats": to believe in its capacity to effectuate change.

The number of unemployed begins to decline, police brutality is terminated, economic exploitation is undercut, housing ownership shifts from absentee landlords to local people; health and hospital services preventive and rehabilative- become available.

The number of local leaders are multiplied; intra-organizational conflict declines; and a value of community cooperation develops.

Easy access to the informal channels of influence and power develop.

"Uncle Toms" lose their ability to manipulate the community or to function as agents for the "Man".

The local community begins to develop increasing autonomy over the internal affairs, relationships and content of the local experience.

Soul food and *Muhammed Speaks* are talked about openly without being whispered. One does not have to subscribe to a philosophy in order to talk about it. The beauty parlor, the pool room, bars, etc. become places where one also begins to hear discussions about local problems - and from which action is planned.

Local residents begin to make sacrifices on behalf of each other. People begin to talk cogently in terms of the struggle and not just winning it. Struggle, in itself, will produce its own vistories. Preoccupations with winning may prejudice one against the right to make honest, or even stupid, mistakes. One also learns from mistakes. People begin to talk about how they can help each other - and not just about their own problems. They begin to criticize the system - and not just each other.

In summary, local community groups begin to get involved in attempting to manage and shape their own destinies rather than permitting others to do it for them. A community policy begins to take form and to serve as a guideline for organizational behavior. Leaders in various problem areas begin to be identified, to relate to each other and to develop cooperative working relationships among each other. Importantly, those outside of the community begin to learn new ways of dealing with the local community rather than automatically making decisions about it without the full involvement of the community.

The people are the undefined masses, leading each other, rather than being led; following their own instincts and not leaders; "reading" the system rather than writing about it, observing history rather than making it; holding the balance of power rather than enacting. They cannot be fooled, spotting a phony a mile away, and are less interested in change than in progress, questioning change but exploiting progress, which to them means a "better life". They feel and experience; they don't just talk about it, tending to reject exploitation of each other, valuing interest in each other as a survival necessity. They would rather not lead but are reluctant to follow anyone who has a need to lead them. You have to show these people, not tell them; their philosophy being teach me, but don't tell me. The people say, "Correct this sentence for me, but don't mess with my feelings". Instead of telling them they are poor, teach them how not to be poor. Being poor is not a romantic ideal, but is a drudgery. The people want you to act on their behalf. They are the mirrors of society; a reflection of society's actual achievements. To them, society is a window pane which they can see right through. Therefore, it is important to recognize and translate these reflections into relationships which shape the linking process between decision-making and implementation. By reason of diversity in social, political and educational climates in various communities, community school councils must build certain elements into whatever decision-making process they may employ to promote and protect the interests and program of the people. Some general safeguards are:

ensuring representative participation in decision-making,
sharing facts and figures prior to deliberation on issues in decision-making,
understanding and discussing alternative strategies,
developing the ability to achieve a meaningful consensus,
utilizing available talent and ability to carry out the agreed-upon decision,
monitoring the process of implementation of the decision, and
evaluating results of the decision, and feed back the results to the decision-makers, constituents and consumers or students and parents.

In the final analysis, change will require benefits and rewards to those who seek it and those whom you want to involve. Unless the community begins to act like the schools belong to them and accept the responsibility for helping them to perform at a high level, even legislative action will not make a difference.

VI. Bibliography

Articles
Manuals
Position Papers
Proposals and Legislation
Training Materials

This bibliography includes articles, legislative statements, a variety of manuals, directories, and proposals, all of which reflect efforts undertaken at the local level or in response to the concerns of citizens for their schools.

The items referred to herein may be obtained by writing directly to the sources listed.

The bibliography should serve as a resource to groups who are interested in developing local plans for school community control and/or decentralization.

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b. *Materials Kit #2: Teacher Kit* A collection of resource and informational material geared toward providing parent and community action groups with some of the background data needed in the fight to obtain improved quality teachers. $1.50.

c. *Materials Kit #3: Curriculum* contains information on curriculum and promotional policies. $2.70.

d. *Materials Kit #4: Discipline and Suspensions* includes a 'treasure hunt for parents who blame themselves', a role play training activity illustrating how the powerful pressure the powerless to conform. $1.50.

e. *Materials Kit #5: How To Evaluate your School.* How to make a school visit, Report card for parents to use in 'marking' your school. $4.50.

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Appendix 2

ARTICLES OF INTEREST

[The Washington Post, July 6, 1971]

MORGAN EXPERIMENT FADES—SCHOOL RETURNS TO CONVENTIONAL CLASS REGIMEN

By Lawrence Feinberg

After four years of community control by an elected, neighborhood board, Washington's Morgan Elementary School has moved away from the free, noisy, unstructured classes that won it a wide reputation.

After considerable turmoil, the school has returned almost full circle to a conventional regimen of firm discipline and what most of its board members say proudly is "basic education."

The most conspicuous new element remaining is about 30 jobs, paid for by the city and federal governments, for nonprofessional "community people," including last year's board chairman, Mary French. She is being paid about $6,500 a year as a "parent stimulator."

However, despite the extra jobs and money—*Morgan gets more per pupil in federal and foundation grants than any school in D.C.—there has been no clear improvement in average student achievement.*

And paradoxically, as the neighborhood board members acknowledge, there has been no substantial broadening of community interests in the school.

Indeed, the Morgan board itself has done most of its important business at private meetings, and in the last board election in May, only 137 neighborhood residents voted out of a potential 10,000 eligible.

After a flurry of interest and concern when the project began in 1967, the number of parents visiting the school has dropped, teachers say, so that now only a few come around, aside from those who are paid to work there.

Enrollment last spring was about 650 students, all but 10 of them black.

The brown stucco school at 1773 California St. NW, just a few blocks from the corner of 18th Street and Columbia Road, now is the oldest venture in community-control of schools in a poor big-city neighborhood in the United States.

But the comic books that at first replaced basic readers and the young teachers in sandals who first replaced older staff have both disappeared.

They have been supplanted by more conventional workbooks, which children in most classrooms are expected to fill in quietly, and by conventional teachers, also mostly young, who stress the need for "guidance" instead of the "freedom" that marked the first two years of community control.

Most board members and paid community aides speak scathingly of the "chaos" that came from permitting students to leave classrooms when they please and from disciplining them lightly even for fighting.

To prevent it from happening again, they have promulgated a mimeographed list of rules for student behavior. The first is: "All students are expected to respect all adults in the school and their fellow students."

"They don't say anything about adults having respect for children," one former teacher remarked. "That's the way we started at Morgan."

But some parents and board members reply that letting students "do their own thing" was not a sign of respect for children but of indifference.

"The reason why (educational) things haven't happened at Morgan," said Robert Brown, the board's new chairman, "is that we haven't had a specific program to make sure that kids will learn to read, write and do math problems."

He added that most students from low-income families, such as those at Morgan, "don't have the self-discipline that's necessary to go into a free form educational set-up."

"They don't have the incentives. They don't have the examples at home to follow," he continued. "There had to be some discipline imposed upon me before I could develop self-discipline."

Morgan still groups children by "teams" instead of grades, and there are "learning centers" in most classrooms for individual and small-group work. But both were part of the flexible, "open-classroom" program set up by liberal whites before the first Morgan board was elected.

The board has kept its present teachers, have little interest or enthusiasm for it.

The board has kept its contract with the Educational Development Center of Boston for training in informal teaching methods, and there still are two or three well-run open classrooms. But nearly all the teachers who understood and practiced the innovative methods were pushed out by the board last year.

Contrary to these teachers' wishes, the board insisted on report cards with letter grades and an indication of the standard grade-level at which each child was working.

The community board also demanded that children be given homework, and last fall directed the staff to give the standardized achievement tests, which were part of the city-wide Clark reading mobilization plan.

Of the 30 teachers on the staff this past spring, 17 were in their first year at Morgan. Many were hired by the neighborhood board after a recruiting trip through the South, during which one board member said they were looking for "people who can relate to the community."

According to Brown, some of the new teachers as well as the older ones have serious difficulty themselves in speaking and writing correctly.

"These people need help before they can help the kids," he said, after reading through a file of the teachers' letters and applications.

"They have troubles and yet they're teaching," he remarked. "This type of thing just multiplies our problems and passes them on."

D.C. school administrators who have also read the files agree with him.

Yet, most of the teachers this past year kept their classes orderly and purposeful. They appeared to be much better liked by the board members than were the more innovative and often better-educated teachers whom the replaced.

Fred Thompson, for instance, the teacher whom the staff elected as its representative on the board, rules over his fifth-grade English classes with a strong, traditional hand.

On one of the days a reporter visited last month, he was teaching the parts of a "friendly letter"—heading, greeting, body and closing. Then he passed out copies of a grammar text, put some questions on the blackboard about adjectives, and told the students to write their answers in complete sentences.

When the class stirred, Thompson shouted, "Quiet, quiet. There's too much talking in here."

One girl came up to him with a question. Thompson replied with a reprimand: "I think your problem is that you don't want to do what you know you have to do . . . Don't look at me and frown. You know we've had this material before."

After about 20 restless minutes, the papers were collected. Thompson found most of them unsatisfactory.

He issued a warning as the period ended:

"All those who passed in material that's wrong, you study it tonight, and tomorrow we'll do the same thing over. If you don't know it then, be prepared to stay from 3 to 4 (after school), and we'll learn it."

Down the hall, Mohammed El-helu, an African, was teaching the chemical elements and their abbreviations to another class of fifth-graders. Some had trouble sounding out and reading the words—sodium, bromine, fluorine, copper. But when he wrote the abbreviations on the blackboard and the class had to chant what they stood for in chorus, the whole group joined in enthusiastically.

Morgan has four African teachers, in addition to 20 American Negroes and six whites. The Africans usually teach by conventional methods. Almost always they dress in Western clothes, including jackets and ties on hot afternoons.

Several weeks ago, Morgan's sixth-graders dressed in dashikis and African robes for their graduation. But aside from the clothing, the ceremony was traditional. It ended with Thompson selling yearbooks, and a chorus of "Pomp and Circumstance." The graduates marched down the center aisle in cadence, as some of the parents remarked how well everyone kept in step.

When Morgan became a community-controlled school in 1967, the interests of the different groups involved were not nearly so unified. The black parents at the school had complained about it bitterly, but mostly about the overcrowding, the classes in the auditorium and the dilapidated state of the Morgan building and its annex—now both over 70 years old. There was almost no interest in the curriculum or in who would control it.

Yet, these were the main interests of the group of liberal whites who also lived in the neighborhood and participated with the blacks in the schools committee of the Adams-Morgan Community Council.

Among them were Christopher Jencks, now at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, and the two co-directors of the Institute for Policy Studies, Marcus Raskin and Arthur Waskow, and their wives.

They were the chief authors of Morgans new program and, mainly through Raskin, they arranged for Antioch College to sponsor the project.

The school's first principal, Kenneth W. Haskins, was picked by Antioch and the community council before the first Morgan board of 11 black and 4 whites was elected.

Haskins believed strongly in the loose structure and innovations that had already been set in motion. He also had the personal appeal and strength to stick with them despite an undercurrent of objections from parents, classroom aides and board members. But Haskins left the school in June, 1969, to take a fellowship at Harvard.

A few months later, Bishop Marie Reed, head of a storefront church and the Morgan board's first president, died.

Without Haskins and Bishop Reed, feuding and politicking on the board increased. Objections to the informal methods and compliants that children were not learning to read became more insistent. In less than a year, one city school official explained, "The black mamas triumphed, and the reformers fled."

The board elected in May, 1970, after a bitter campaign, was all-black. Among the defeated members of a "progressive" slate was the wife of George Wiley, leader of the National Welfare Rights Organization.

Bruce L. Smith, a political science professor at Columbia University says all this is "very much part of the pattern" of many community-controlled projects he has studied around the country.

In Washington, the Anacostia decentralization project has been from the start nearly all-black and aside from also hiring classroom aides, conventional in its educational program. The Adams School, near Morgan and also community-controlled, still has an active group of liberal whites' and is pressing ahead with innovations.

During 1967–68, the first year of community control at Morgan, about 20 white children, including Raskins', were enrolled in the school. Nearly all of them left a year later, most for private schools.

Barbara Raskin, who served on the first Morgan board, describes her involvement with the school as being "like a bad love affair, a very passionate relationship which just didn't work out." She said there were "bad vibes for the white kids" after the riots of April, 1968.

Morgan's current board chairman Brown, is more caustic. "*These people (the white reformers) say a black community they could perform an experiment on,*" *he said.* "*And when it was not working out, they withdrew and left the whole thing to people who didn't know what it was supposed to do.*"

Actually, the number of Negro students at Morgan dropped by over 100 in the first year of community control as some parents put their children in regular schools nearby. The flash enrollment has continued to decrease since.

For those who stayed, though, there have been quite definite improvements as *extra staff and money were added to Morgan and the drop in enrollment ended overcrowding.*

Average class size, for example, was 23 this past year, two less than the citywide average.

Before community control, per pupil spending at Morgan from the regular city budget was much below the citywide average. This past year, Morgan ranked in the top fifth among all city elementary schools in spending from the regular budget.

It also *had the city's highest expenditure per pupil from federal government grants and private foundations.*

Since 1968, when U.S. Education Commissioner *Harold Howe singled out Morgan for praise*, the school has received over $550,000 from the federal government, mostly in direct payments, bypassing the D.C. school board, for an elaborate Follow-Through program for kindergarten, first- and second-grades who earlier had been in the preschool Head Start. For the coming year, the Follow-Through grant is another $231,000.

In addition Morgan has received about $100,000 from foundations. The biggest donation was $60,000 from the Ford Foundation, also a major backer of the now-disbanded community-control projects in New York City.

Exactly how all the money has been spent is unclear because Morgan's financial records are sketchy.

A substantial amount has gone for educational games and other equipment, and for trips—sightseeing for students; conferences and workshops here and out-of-town for teachers, aides and board members.

The bulk of Morgan's extra money has gone to neighborhood residents, mostly women, who work as classroom aides. For most of the past year, there were 28 of them, and they play important roles in both Morgan's politics and educational program.

The aides were part of Antioch's original plan for the school, and at Morgan they are called "interns" because they help with teaching and are not concerned with just clerical and child-watching chores. Indeed, when teachers are absent, interns take charge of the classes. In some cases, they have been in command for several months. The Morgan school uses no substitutes.

Training for the aides has been sporadic and their effectiveness is mixed—some are very competent, others are rather tough disciplinarians or stoic monitors, maintaining the peace while children fill in workbooks, and sometimes clashing with classroom teachers.

The aides' jobs, which now pay about $5,500 a year, are an important part of the patronage system that undergirds the politics of the local school board. At least four of the posts have been filled by former community board members, others and their relatives of members and their friends. In the 1970 election, the aides and the principal, Anthony, were active campaigners for the winning slate.

Another vehicle for patronage is the policy advisory committee, set up at the insistence of the federal government, as part of follow-through.

Under federal regulations, the committee is supposed to be elected by parents of Follow-Through children (kindergarten through second grade). At Morgan, however, no election has been held. The committee is made up of a close-knit group of volunteers—about 10 parents and a smaller number of teachers, aides and board members, including Mrs. French.

Since it was formed last October, its four officers have been paid salaries to help give achievement tests. Three of them now are employed—at $60 a week—in the school's summer program.

Mrs. French said she was chosen by the advisory committee for her $6,500 post as "parent stimulator." The salary is paid, from a federal grant, by a Harlem-based group of consultants called Afram Associates, whose vice president is Morgan's former principal, Haskins.

As chairman of the Morgan board, Mrs. French sent a letter to Afram last Oct. 21, hiring them to "help strengthen parent involvement."

A few weeks later, she in turn was hired by Afram as the "parent stimulator," although her salary did not become generally known until mid-winter. Other board members and a small group of parents then quietly forced her to step down as board chairman, but she remained on the board and kept her job as "stimulator."

"Sixty-five hundred dollars is hardly living money," she explained last week, leaning heavily on a cane, "especially if you're sick and have to buy medicine to keep yourself going."

This summer, Mrs. French is also being paid over $100 a week as a neighborhood director of the mayor's summer youth program.

At Christmastime, operating somewhat like an old ward politician, she gives out turkeys to the poor in the school neighborhood. The turkeys are paid for by the Junior League, but Mrs. French decides who gets them.

The D.C. school system has also been generous to Morgan. With the agreement of the system's special projects office, the seven teachers who have been designated chairmen or "leaders" of their grades at Morgan, are each paid $90 a month extra from the regular school budget. The money comes from a budget account for night school for adults even though none of these teachers holds classes at night.

According to payroll records, principal Anthony drew $282.24 extra for the last half of May, and similar amounts before then, as principal of the night school.

But Hugh Burton, a teacher, is actually in charge of night classes. Burton said that Anthony has little to do with them.

The principal's salary is $18,160 a year. In addition, his wife, Jean, works as one of Morgan's secretaries for $6,200 a year.

The Washington Teachers Union has raised no question about the extra pay for the grade chairman, or "team leaders," as they are called at Morgan, even though there is no provision for it in the union's contract with the D.C. school board.

Several years ago, the union leaders offered to sign a separate sub-contract with the Morgan board, but negotiations for the pact never took place. The union did adopt a general statement endorsing community control when the Morgan project began.

During the first two years of community control, Morgan's supporters spoke proudly of a drop in absenteeism and of fewer broken windows, less theft and vandalism and an increase in achievement test scores.

On all these points, the figures to back up the claims are uncertain, and in any case this past year Morgan had nearly all the problems of most other schools in poor neighborhoods.

According to statistics kept by the school system's office of buildings and grounds, there were 194 broken windows at Morgan and its annex in 1967–68, the first year of community control, compared to 200 a year earlier and 343 a year before that. The number of broken windows fell to 136 in 1969–70, but this past year, 1970–71, there were 579 broken windows through 11 months.

No complete figures have been kept on losses due to theft and vandalism. But the problems are so serious that nearly all movable equipment is kept overnight in a storeroom, protected by a locked iron gate.

According to Anthony, student absenteeism averages about 10 per cent daily, which is slightly above the citywide average for elementary schools.

Morgan's average scores reading achievement tests went up noticeably in the spring of 1968, the first year of community control. But after that, the scores for sixth-graders dropped to where they had usually been—about two years below national norms.

The scores for third- and fourth-graders, the other groups regularly tested, held up much better. But last September, when the tests were given during the first week of the term, the results for all grades were low. Indeed, the average score for fourth-graders, equivalent to grade 2.5, was eight months lower than the average reported for the same children when they were in third grade a year before.

But the tests certainly are not the only measure of academic problems at Morgan.

Second-grade teachers say they have many students who cannot distinguish all the letters of the alphabet, for example h and n. Even in fifth grade, there are students who seem able to read a text, but when asked to read particular words, cannot do so.

[The Washington Post, July 14, 1971]

U.S. CHARGES CITY'S SCHOOLS MISSPENT MUCH OF $5.2 MILLION IN AID TO POOR

By Lawrence Feinberg

Federal investigators have charged the Washington school system with misspending much of the *$5.2 million in federal aid* earmarked last year for the city's poorest children.

In a highly critical report, investigators for the U.S. Office of Education said *some of the money was spent on low-priority extras, including a course in aviation at one high school* where most students have severe difficulties in reading.

The investigators added that *the school system also used the money to buy expensive equipment, including television sets and record players, with "no evidence" that it was needed to overcome problems in reading and math.*

At one elementary school, which has only 12 teachers, the investigators said they found 10 television sets, 10 filmstrip projectors, 10 record players, four calculators and three overhead projectors. All were bought with money from Title One of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, but the investigators said they *found no indication of what they were needed for or even if they were being used.*

The report added that the 29 public schools and five Catholic schools in which the money is spent were not selected carefully to make sure that they serve the city's highest concentration of poor children.

Within these schools, it said, *the extra programs* paid for by Title One, *including counseling, trips, and tutoring, often were provided for all children enrolled instead of only to those with the most severe educational problems.*

The federal regulations require that Title One money be concentrated in schools with the most children from low-income families, and that within these schools it be spent on students with the most serious problems, and not in general "enrichment."

The report, which did not charge any criminal wrong-doing, was sent last week to D.C. School Supt. Hugh J. Scott, who passed it on to school board members. Yesterday afternoon Scott was out of town, and could not be reached for comment.

Anita F. Allen, the school board president, said the Title One program had been "out of control of the board" under several school superintendents for the past four years.

She said she and other board members have pressed for a clear definition of the program's goals and for limiting it to children with the greatest need in order to make an impact.

"I have complained about Title One," Mrs. Allen said, "since the day I got on the board (in July 1967) . . . I knew that somewhere down the road we had to get clobbered about what we were doing."

Since 1966, the federal government has spent over $31 million in Title One aid in Washington schools.

According to annual evaluations prepared separately from the federal investigation, there is no evidence of significant academic improvement among students in the schools receiving money from the program.

The *Title One funds originally went to 77 schools in all parts of the city, and in the program's second year, 18 more schools were added. After the federal government complained that the money was spread too thin to have any effect on student achievement, the school board reduced the number of aided schools to 36.*

On the advice of a report prepared by former Supt. William Manning in 1968, all of the 36 schools were in the Cardoza area or near Dunbar High School, about 10 blocks away, just above the city's old downtown area.

The federal report said these schools were designated to receive the extra aid without ranking all schools in the city according to their concentration of low-income students, it suggested that schools elsewhere may actually have a greater need, a complaint often made by residents of far Northeast Washington and of Anacostia.

The report ordered Scott to cancel the Learning Through Aviation program at Cardoza High School and another program at the school in data processing. The two programs cost over $60,000 last year.

It added that the school system must follow federal regulations in selecting aided schools and projects, and "recommended" that it seek "technical assistance" in drawing up a plan to manage the program.

THE RELEVANCE OF EDUCATION FOR BLACK AMERICANS[*]

By C. Eric Lincoln

In 1903, one G. F. Richings published a volume entitled "Evidences of Progress Among Colored People" (1). He has moved to undertake the effort, he explained, because:

> To my mind the last generation has been characterized by greater conflicts and has been freighted with more thrilling events than any generation through which the history of this country has brought us. * * * It is therefore important that some close observer of events constantly keep before the people in whose interest these factors have been set in operation, full accounts of all the developments, that the young may be inspired to noble aims and lofty endeavors (2).

Richings achieves importance because he appointed himself the task of observation and investigation. By his own account, he spent 16 years cataloging and visiting hundreds of schools, seminaries, colleges, and businesses and professional offices operated by or for Black Americans, and documenting at first hand the "evidences of progress" he noted. Richings' book is not a scholarly compendium, but it does provide an interesting and useful account of the Black American's unprecedented struggle to educate himself and to challenge the crippling stereotypes with which he was bound then and now by a frequently hostile society. The fledgling efforts of our historic institutions are noted and appraised. Some of them are no longer in existence: Walden (3), Roger Williams (4), Leland (5), Straight (6), Dorchester Academy (7), Avery Institute (8), Western University (9), Monticello Seminary (10), Eckstein Norton University (11).

Richings, who was white, expressed the opinion (remarkable for his time) that "the color of the skin, the texture of the hair, and the formation of the head have nothing whatever to do with the development and the expansion of the mind (12). That some Americans are less confident now, almost 70 years later, is indicative of the persistence of the racial myth which contaminated our history and our science so long ago. Finally, I cannot refrain from one further quote from Professor Richings, whose remarkable clairvoyance relating to issues which are the inevitable corollaries of education must certainly establish his relevance:

> I only hope that the white friends may be made to feel that the colored people are entitled to more consideration and ought to be given a better opportunity to fill the places for which they are being fitted, in the commercial and business life of this country (13).

For most of the 66 years since Richings completed his informal study, the "better oportunity" to make full, logical use of the education they won at such a dear cost has not generally been available. That is in part what the contemporary black revolution is about—the relevance of the Black American's education to the prevailing socioeconomic structure—the logical end of the struggle to know.

Observations like Richings' are important because, however challenging it may be, we cannot speak with profit about the contemporary educational experience of the black minority except against a background of history. Terms such as "compensatory education," "desegregation," "community control," "black studies," "cultural deprivation," and the like have no meaning except within the context of the peculiar development of segregated education in the South (where more than 75 percent of all blacks lived prior to World War II). The poor quality of public schools for Negroes in all of our history is of course well documented, but the extended effect of the miseducation of blacks as recently as a generation ago suggests the usefulness of citing some comparative statistics to illustrate the morbidity of the infrastructure on which past educational experiences were built. The effects of the past ramify in the problems of the present and produce the terminology (and the unresolved racial dilemmas) which characterize contemporary education. In 1900 the white school population of the South (13 States) was 4,069,175. The black school population for that year was 2,349,968. In 1940, the white school population for the South was 6,614,734, an increase of 62.6 percent. But the black school population remained practically constant at 2,454,198—an increase of only 4.4 percent in 40 years! (14) Even in a truly open "democratic" society, the implications for competitive socioeconomic development would be astounding. How much more so for a society in which educational preparation is qualified severly by racial identification! The school-age mortality rate in the black population was matched (possibly encouraged) by the per pupil expenditure differential. As late as 1952 the South was still spending $132.28 on white pupils for each $90.20 spent on blacks. This was a vast improvement over the arrangement in 1940, when the ratio was $41.99 to $16.29. (15) After the Supreme Court decisions of 1954 (*Brown* v. *Board of Education*), some Southern States instituted crash programs to bring per pupil expenditures into alignment in order to stave off integration. They would seem to have met with extraordinary success (although credit for that success is certainly not limited to the equalization of expenditures on white and black pupils). Fourteen years after the court order to desegregate (with "deliberate speed"), the U.S. Office of Education could report that only 18 percent of America's black children at most were attending school with whites in the South. Even this unspectacular estimate is probably inflated, perhaps by 100 percent, because it considers a "predominantly black" school as being "desegregated" if it has one white pupil. (16)

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[*] From Journal of Negro Education, summer, 1969.
Notes at end of article.

Since "desegregation" implies the previous existence of "segregation," we confront now the crucial implications of minority-group status, or more specifically, being black in a white-oriented society. Before 1954, segregation in education was the rule throughout the South, being required by law in all Southern and some border States. Black recognition of the accrued disability incident to segregated education antedated *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, however, by more than a hundred years when Charles Sumner argued the case of *Roberts* v. *The City of Boston* in 1849. During the brief period of the reconstruction, when black Americans held some decisionmaking power in public education for the only time in history, they underscored their vital concern for paticipation in shaping educational policy by the avidity with which they sought the office of superintendent of education.(17) Five States—Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina—elected black superintendents.(18) Some of them, like Dartmouth- and Princeton-educated Jonathan G. Gibbs of Florida, and J. C. Corbin of Arkansas, who graduated from Ohio State in 1853, were distinctly superior in education and administration to most of their white counterparts in the South. Their unfortunately brief tenure in office was not sufficient to effect lasting policies of educational accessibility and parity which might have anticipated—and obviated—the problems which confront the black minority today. The power of black men in reconstruction offices was not unlimited. In spite of the brilliant work of Gibbs in Florida, perhaps the administration of superintendent James Brown of Louisiana was more typical and more realistic in terms of the times. Brown was described by a contemporary as "'a quite inoffensive man' who did not obtrude himself into white schools where he was not wanted." (19)

At any rate, the education of Black Americans had a rather singular development in segregated public schools and (for the most part) private or church-related black colleges in the South; and in increasingly *de facto* segregated public schools in the North with occasional blacks in the northern colleges and universities. Nowhere were curricula and ancillary programs designed with the peculiar, fundamental needs of Black Americans in mind; and nowhere did the academic credentials acquired by blacks carry with them the logical consequences of academic investiture. The period between the world wars saw dramatic gains in the numbers of blacks who were engaged in the educational process.

> From 1940 to 1960, the percentage of Negroes who had attended college more than doubled; from 1950 to 1960 the percentage of Negroes who had completed high school rose from 14 to 22 percent, a faster rate than that of whites; and from 1950 to 1960, the median school years completed by all adult Negroes increased over a grade, 6.9 to 8.2 years.(20)

But the increased numbers of blacks who improved themselves educationally was not reflected in the numbers of those who achieved reasonable levels of participation in the socioeconomic process of affluent America. The Negro college graduate carrying mail, waiting tables, or redcapping was a familiar phenomenon of the 1940's and the 1950's.

The Supreme Court decision of 1954 has not produced "integrated" education; nor has it effected through the educational process the more generalized racial assimilation so optimistically predicted 15 years ago. Indeed, outside the South we are more segregated than before.(21) Professor Thomas Pettigrew of Harvard University attributes continuing segregated education to the following causes:

> (1) The basic cause is structural: the way we organize our school districts, especially the way we organize in the main metropolitan areas. * * *
>
> (2) The existence of private schools—parochial schools in particular. * * *
>
> (3) The careful misplacement of schools, the zone drawing. * * *(22)

"Our problems," Dr. Pettigrew avers, "are less the machinations of evil men * * * than structural problems." Perhaps, so, but "structural problems" are structured by men, evil or otherwise, and the net results for black children seem to be the same. Men organize school districts, build, endow, make exclusive, and send their kids to private or parochial schools, and "misplace" public schools. However, the old argument that the future of black America hinges on physical juxtaposition in "integrated" classrooms is no longer convincing to a substantial number of Black Americans. Integrated schools may be desirable from many points of view—the provision of extratribal experience for white children among them, but the latest data seem to show that factors other than the integration of children in the classroom are more critical to the learning process. The Coleman report suggests that social class is the more crucial variable. If that is in fact the case, perhaps our educational strategies are being crippled by misplaced emphasis. While education is a prime determinant of middle-class statuts, other avenues of mobility, such as employment equivalence, suggest the perspicacity of G. F. Richings' remarks when he was studying black educational institutions at the turn of the century: "The colored people are entitled to more consideration and ought to be given a better opportunity to fill the places for which they are being fitted. * * *" It is patent that classroom integration without corollary behavior in other aspects of our human relations is not a panacea for what is wrong with America.

There are perhaps as many as 25 million black Americans in this country, most of them involved at some level in striving to escape the disabilities or the symbols of caste. The tenuous involvement of black people in the educational process has been both a symbol of powerlessness and social degradation and an effective means of disablement. As a result, the contemporary educational crisis is so intertwined with other factors only peripherally related to it as to obscure and confuse the central issue at times, and make it difficult to bring about orderly change. What I am saying, of course, is that the black American has a compelling stake and an unprecedented interest in changing his *whole condition*. Education is but one aspect, albeit a vital one, of a much larger social construct which has operated to the black American's disadvantage—or to a disproportionately lesser advantage than for others in the society. "Education" is the formal instrument by means of which a society socializes developing members and prepares them for meaningful and satisfying participation in that society. Our socialization process has prepared white children to continue the privileged traditions of the established white hegemony, while black children have been programed for social and economic oblivion. The black insistence upon meaningful involvement in decision making, curriculum offerings, administration, instruction, and every other aspect of the academic enterprise denotes the more basic intention of destroying the racial caste structure, and cannot be seen in isolation from that interest. Similarly, the extraordinary resistance to the burgeoning programatic demands of black students, black instructors, and black parents is not totally a resistance to changing the configuration of traditional patterns of *education*, but a resistance to changing larger patterns of relationships which are touched by educational procedures.

If the education available to black Americans and their rate of involvement have improved steadily since the 1940's, why should there be a "crisis" in 1969? First of all, the improvement of the black's educational position in contrast to that of the white man has been only relative. When seen in perspective, it is not impressive. Dr. Thomas Pettigrew, who is committed to the necessity for integration (23) and is not impressed greatly by black gains in education outside an integrated system, suggests why:

> Negro education has yet to approach that generally available to whites. It remains in general less accessible, and especially less adequate. In 1960, Negro college attendance was . . . only about half that of whites; the percentage of adult Negroes who had completed college was considerably less than half that of whites; and the percentage who had completed high school was precisely half that of whites. . . . Negro hopes for the future are so centered upon education that training of poor quality at this stage could well undercut the determined thrust toward group uplift(24).

Furthermore, the devaluation of the black man's academic credentials will keep him at a competitive disadvantage vis-a-vis the white man. Christopher Jencks and David Reisman, interpreting the data of the Coleman report, find that when black men are compared with white men with three-fourths as much formal education, the better-educated blacks earn 10 to 20 percent less than white men with only 75 percent as much training. (26) Jencks and Reisman support the contention that the factors determining the continuing differentials which operate to the disadvantage of black Americans now derive from segregation by "class" rather than by "race," thus implying a relatively unrestricted mobility and acceptance across class lines for "those Negroes who acquire white middle-class habits and attitudes."(27) One does not need to argue whether this is true or to what degree, whether the "new" segregation is substantively different from the more familiar kind, so long as Negroes, who are *racially* identified, remain at the bottom of the class structure, and their *visibility* operates to keep them there.

The "improved" circumstances of contemporary blacks is precisely the key variable in their present commitment to the renovation of our educational structure. The black middle class, as measured by conventional criteria, is five times as big as it was in 1940. Two important byproducts of an increased middle-class base are (1) relative economic security, and (2) leisure. For the first hundred years out of enslavement, the black man's all-consuming interest was expressed in terms of visceral needs—to provide food and shelter for the family; and to keep out of the way of the man, i.e., to stay alive. Education, formal or informal, functioned almost entirely in these interests. Now that the visceral needs of an important minority of the black community have been met substantially, there is *time* and a *psychological readiness* to examine the systems of strictures which function to perpetuate black subordination. Education represents and reflects one of those strictures. The "radicalization" of black students demanding a wide assortment of institutional and programmatic changes in the universities is a by-product of the security and leisure ("introspection") now available to a small minority of black people. So is "community involvement" in school issues, even when that involvement may utilize the physical pressure of parents who are themselves from the less emancipated black masses.

Black Americans are more acutely aware now of the critical importance of education to the general improvement of their conditions of living in and participating in our kind of society. They know that "our kind of society" is geographically indifferent. It extends North and South, East and West. For decades they have fought through the NAACP and other agencies for better schools, better-paid teachers, integrated classrooms and faculties, and the like. There have been some successes; but, as has always been the case, "the development of schools and programs of education for Negroes has represented largely the influences of social forces outside the Negro community and over which he had little or no control."(27) To the extent that this remains true, to that extent will the larger spectrum comprising the life circumstances of black Americans remain inaccessible to their control or moderation. In a truly democratic society, the issue would be less crucial, for the socialization of children, and the preparation of youth to be meaning participants in the ongoing life of the society, would be indifferently conceived and executed. In a society where racial preference is itself one of the institutions which modify and shape all others, decisive involvement at every level of the educational enterprise is critical. The democratic process will be strengthened by the new commitment of black Americans to help make education relevant and responsible.

NOTES

1. G. F. Richings, "Evidences of Progress Among Colored People." Philadelphia: George S. Ferguson Co. (1902).
2. Ibid., pages 17–18.
3. Nashville, Tenn.
4. Nashville, Tenn.
5. New Orleans.
6. New Orleans.
7. McIntosh, Ga.
8. Charleston, S.C.
9. Kansas City, Kans.
10. Montecello, Ark.
11. Cane Spring, Ky.
12. Op. cit., page xii.
13. Ibid.
14. Truman M. Pierce et al., "White and Negro Schools in the South." Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1955.
15. Op. cit., page 165.
16. See Thomas F. Pettigrew, "School Integration in Current Perspective," The Urban Review, January 1969.
17. E. Franklin Frazier, "The Negro in the United States." New York: Macmillan Co., 1949, page 142.
18. Horace Mann Bond, "The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order." Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934, page 49.
19. Ibid.
20. Thomas F. Pettigrew, "A Profile of the Negro American." Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964, page 184.
21. Cf. Pettigrew, op. cit., page 4.
22. Ibid., pages 5, 6.
23. Ibid., page 4.
24. "A Profile of the Negro American," page 190.
25. Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, "The Academic Revolution," Garden City: Doubleday, 1968, page 412 n.
26. Ibid., page 411.
27. Virgil A. Clift, "The American Negro Reference Book," John P. Davis, ed., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966, page 360. See also Jencks and Riesman, op. cit., page 418.

THE EDUCATION OF BLACK CHILDREN*

By M. Lee Montgomery

A few months ago Dr. Ruth Hayre, superintendent of District 4, issued a call to teachers, principals, parents, students, and community residents of the North Philadelphia area for an "Educational Goals Conference." Discussion would center on the question, "What should schools and the community be doing to better meet the needs of boys and girls in these areas?" (1) With the question so ably stated, Dr. Hayre had laid before all of us the gigantic task of making education relevant to black children, and of probing the depths of our thinking to create, develop, and deliver new substance, methods, and techniques in curriculum.

Such questions are of importance because of what is happening to black children in inner-city schools. Of all of the young men and women who do graduate, 60 percent are functionally illiterate. They are unable to read at a sixth-grade level. All this means is that they have difficulty reading and understanding the daily newspaper. And as the 21st century rushes upon us, we must ask ourselves, What kind of world will it be when these children grow up? Technology will surely continue to advance. Then what skills must men and women have? How will they relate to each other? What will happen to those who have not been taught how to live and mastered a skill by the 21st century? Will they be able to survive in a highly mechanized and depersonalized society? What will the great cities of this Nation be like? Will they still be growing in inner-city density with black people? What will education be in the 21st century? Let us not dwell upon this, because our reason for being here is a recognition that there are some things which all of us must begin to do *now*.

We have as community and school made some steps toward opening the lines of discovery of new methods of communication with one another. The pressures for change in curriculum, career development, and community involvement, as well as in staffing and personnel development, reflect the growing concern of parents about the education of our children. The question raised at the goals conference can be more simply stated: "What does education mean for black boys and girls?" What is education's purpose? Shall we begin with the examination of a very basic measurement instrument of the educational system—tests? We need not, at this time, enter into the discussion of the relevancy of such instruments to the life style of the black child. An aerospace engineer, Clarence Harris, states in a monograph that "both cultural bias and bias based on color can and does effect the validity of tests and, therefore, the results of administered tests."(2) That is to say, these instruments have built-in biases and the results have to be biased. We have talked briefly about tests because we use them to provide the information in order to determine the development of the child, and very rarely do we question the validity of the measurement. But we are not here to speak about the many inadequacies of current tests; we are just as concerned with what we, as community, and you, as teachers, can and must do to make education an in-depth and meaningful learning experience for each child.

CULTURAL AND ETHNIC SENSITIVITY

In order to achieve the cohesiveness that we wish, we must first do some very basic things, such as getting to know each other. We should feel very comfortable in talking with one another. This has something to do with "attitudes." This raises a concern of our attitude toward each other; toward each child. Let's be honest and recognize that there are variations in our attitudes toward each other. A gap does exist between black and white, particularly in issues of race and values. Values may relate to spiritual or materialistic goals. The frank acknowledgment of the gap is a must if we are to begin to mend the break. How do we begin? Well, again, let me repeat a recognition on the part of each of us that we must attempt to overcome our shortcomings and in the process begin to discover the new *me*.

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*Delivered at Staff Development Institute, Fitz Simons Junior High School, Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 20, 1968.

Notes at end of article.

Parents want to be partners with teachers in the education of their children. There are three major facets to this desire. The first is the desire to have their cultural differences recognized and appreciated. Thus, as teachers you must appreciate the styles of speech, the mode of dress, the natural hair, the dashiki, the beads or the medallions which are popular in or indigenous to the black culture. Rules which are superfluous and offensive to black parents and students should be modified or discarded. Second, integration into this school community involves the development of a genuine sense of community among teachers, students, and parents. A lack of this sense of community has been revealed in the past by the behavior and attitudes of teachers, students, and parents. Finally, black children desire and need to be loved for themselves and be a vital part of all activity. Every child would, if the climate of opportunity is provided, be a participant. This is not a call to limit the inputs in the educational process, but rather an effort to point out where the desire of parents and children is focused.

Alvin Poussaint has written: "For all that may be said about student, parental, and teacher desire in order to understand the black man's self-image, self-concept, and Who am I? we must go back to the time of birth and creation of the 'American Negro.' "(4)

This, of course, brings us to the matter of the black man's heritage. Everyone is getting into the act of teaching Afro-American history. And the cry is loud that anyone can teach Afro-American history. And this is probably true, but for some of us black history or Afro-American history must be taught with perspective. Ron Karenga said, "Black history demands definition, interpretation, in terms of the movements of this nation and the world. Our heroes stand as symbols of the onward movement of man."(4) Thus black people must be able to relate today's events to yesteryear's facts in a way that helps us indicate tomorrow's meanings. I've mentioned history because of the great wave of concern which flows through this land. The value of history as well as the value of the total black experience—myths, soul, etc.—in the context of our gathering here is to provide an opportunity for all of us to understand what the struggle is all about today. We cannot define for any child or adult the purpose and the meaning of his life. What we can do is create conditions in which he can find his own purpose and meaning in life.

Community and School

It has long been whispered that you, teachers and administrators, should beware of community people. They are without information, ignorant, stupid, harassing, ill-tempered, and don't understand a thing about educating children. So often we—that is, those of us who have been able to acquire skills—place a limit on human resourcefulness. What parents are really concerned about is the development of human potential and the liberation of the human spirit. Now I know this covers an awful lot of ground, but let's meditate for a moment.

As parents, let us look at how our children are perceived. First, they are conceived of as slow learners and really unable to master this middle-class school system. They are told you're out of it by the attitude and behavior of the teachers. The process of alienation begins from the first encounter and tends to continue with peer groups in and out of school. Hence, these same black youth are comfortable with their friends and many times they are able to organize very sophisticated social groups (gangs) which we could view as an extension of the family. We can say this because the desire of belonging and identifying is very strong, and out of it grows group cohesiveness and loyalty. Second, we, as parents, are told that our children are beset with all of the woes of life, lack of self-esteem, and serious behavior problems. And more than that, parents are responsible for these bad kids. This is true; the point I am trying to make here is that it is most important that each of you try to understand some of the frustrations which a black parent is compelled to go through each day—the constant decimation of character, the mental as well as spiritual suffering—all of this in an effort to survive. This limits the amount of time parents can spend with children. A more important question is, What are parents really saying when they talk about "community control of schools"? They mean not only physical control, but more importantly the control of information and learning for the liberation of the human spirit. In brief, the battle is for the minds of our children. We express our concern for our survival as an ethnic people in a battle of *who cotrols the minds of our children.* Thus, it becomes very very clear that no parent wants to see his child develop into an inhuman being.

So the purpose of our being here today is to develop the kind of relationship which will provide an opportunity to understand why it is important for black parents to say how their children are to be educated. At best, every black child has a constant battle to keep from being shunted aside as incapable of learning. There is no question in my mind that black children are destroyed daily by innuendo, by verbal and nonverbal communications. That the child is compelled to learn only those things which relate to the dominant culture in this nation. What we are really talking about in relevancy of curriculum is that which puts life itself in the context of the learning process as the most precious input into the black child's experience.

Therefore, what we do today, tomorrow, next week, and in the months to come will have an impact upon every child. Our main concern is that that impact have positive effects on the child. Black consciousness leads to black awareness, leads to black power, leads to self-reliance. Not everyone will understand the importance of these phrases, but somehow all should attempt to empathize with black parents and students. Of course, we will make mistakes, but I feel that the task is too great to confront it with little energy and little commitment. Today this activity demands your personal commitment to a *task*.

NOTES

1. Conference Report—a priority of the conference was to initiate a 5-year plan of action.
2. "The Aerospace Scientist as a Local, National, and Worldwide Community Planner," Clarence J. Harris, General Electric, Valley Forge, Pa., p. 6, Conflicts.
3. Alvin F. Poussaint, M.D., *"The Negro American, His Self-Image and Integration."*
4. Ron Karenga, speech in Detroit, March 31, 1968.

A TALK TO TEACHERS

About 200 New York City teachers are taking a special in-service course this year on "The Negro: His Role in the Culture and Life of the United States." The course meets at Public School 180 in Harlem. At the October 16 session the speaker was James Baldwin, who was born and brought up in Harlem and attended Harlem schools. His topic was "The Negro Child—His Self Image." Mr. Baldwin spoke extemporaneously, and without notes, but his remarks were recorded on tape. By special arrangement with Mr. Baldwin and the New York Board of Education, his talk to the teachers is presented herewith.

By James Baldwin

Let's begin by saying that we are living through a very dangerous time. Everyone in this room is in one way or another aware of that. We are in a revolutionary situation, no matter how unpopular that word has become in this country. The society in which we live is desperately menaced, not by Khrushchev, but from within. So any citizen of this country who figures himself as responsible—and particularly those of you who deal with the minds and hearts of young people—must be prepared to "go for broke." Or to put it another way, you must understand that in the attempt to correct so many generations of bad faith and cruelty, when it is operating not only in the classroom but in society, you will meet the most fantastic, the most brutal, and the most determined resistance. There is no point in pretending that this won't happen.

Now, since I am talking to school teachers and I am not a teacher myself, and in some ways am fairly easily intimidated, I beg you to let me leave that and go back to what I think to be the entire purpose of education in the first place. It would seem to me that when a child is born, if I'm the child's parent it is my obligation and my high duty to civilize that child. Man is a social animal. He cannot exist without a society. A society, in turn, depends on certain things which everyone within that society takes for granted. Now, the crucial paradox which confronts us here is that the whole process of education occurs within a social framework and is designed to perpetuate the aims of society. Thus, for example, the boys and girls who were born during the era of the Third Reich, when educated to the purposes of the Third Reich, became barbarians. The paradox of education is precisely this—that as one begins to become conscious one begins to examine the society in which he is being educated. The purpose of education, finally, is to create in a person the ability to look at the world for himself, to make his own decisions, to say to himself this is black or this is white, to decide for himself whether there is a God in heaven or not. To ask questions of the universe, and then learn to live with those questions, is the way he achieves his own identity. But no society is really anxious to have that kind of person around. What societies really, ideally, want is a citizenry which will simply obey the rules of society. If a society succeeds in this, that society is about to perish. The obligation of anyone who thinks of himself as responsible is to examine society and try to change it and to fight it—at no matter what risk. This is the only hope society has. This is the only way societies change.

Now, if what I have tried to sketch has any validity, it becomes thoroughly clear, at least to me, that any Negro who is born in this country and undergoes the American educational system runs the risk of becoming schizophrenic. On the other hand he is born in the shadow of the stars and stripes and he is assured it represents a nation which has never lost a war. He pledges allegiance to that flag which guarantees "liberty and justice for all." He is part of a country in which anyone can become President, and so forth. But on the other hand he is also assured by his country and his countrymen that he has never contributed anything to civilization—that his past is nothing more than a record of humiliations gladly endured. He is assured by the republic that he, his father, his mother, and his ancestors were happy, shiftless, watermelon-eating darkies who loved Mr. Charlie and Miss Ann, that the value he has as a black man is proven by one thing only—his devotion to white people. If you think I am exaggerating, examine the myths which proliferate in this country about Negroes.

Now all this enters the child's consciousness much sooner than we as adults would like to think it does. As adults, we are easily fooled because we are so anxious to be fooled. But children are very different. Children, not yet aware that it is dangerous to look too deeply at anything, look at everything, look at each other, and draw their own conclusions. They don't have the vocabulary to express what they see, and we, their elders, know how to intimidate them very easily and very soon. But a black child, looking at the world around him, though he cannot know quite what to make of it, is aware that there is a reason why his mother works so hard, why his father is always on edge. He is aware that there is some reason why, if he sits down in the front of the bus, his father or mother slaps him and drags him to the back of the bus. He is aware that there is some terrible weight on his parent's shoulders which menaces him. And it isn't long—in fact it begins when he is in school—before he discovers the shape of his oppression.

Let us say that the child is 7 years old and I am his father, and I decide to take him to the zoo, or to Madison Square Garden, or to the U.N. Building, or to any of the tremendous monuments we find all over New York. We get into a bus and we go from where I live on 131st Street and Seventh Avenue downtown through the park and we get into New York City, which is not Harlem. Now, where the boy lives—even if it is a housing project—is in an undesirable neighborhood. If he lives in one of those housing projects of which everyone in New York is so proud, he has at the front door, if not closer, the pimps, the whores, the junkies—in a word, the danger of life in the ghetto. And the child knows this, though he doesn't know why.

I still remember my first sight of New York. It was really another city when I was born—where I was born. We looked down over the Park Avenue streetcar tracks. It was Park Avenue, but I didn't know what Park Avenue meant *downtown*. The Park Avenue I grew up on, which is still standing, is dark and dirty. No one would dream of opening a Tiffany's on that Park Avenue, and when you go downtown you discover that you are literally in the white world. It is rich—or at least it looks rich. It is clean—because they collect garbage downtown. There are doormen. People walk about as though they owned where they were—and indeed they do. And it's a great shock. It's very hard to relate yourself to this. You don't know what it means. You know—you know instinctively—that none of this is for you. You know this before you are told. And who is it for and who is paying for it? And why isn't it for you?

Later on when you become a grocery boy or messenger and you try to enter one of those buildings a man says, "Go to the back door." Still later, if you happen by some odd chance to have a friend in one of those buildings, the man says, "Where's your package?" Now this by no means is the core of the matter. What I'm trying to get at is that by this time the Negro child has had, effectively, almost all the doors of opportunity slammed in his face, and there are very few things he can do about it. He can more or less accept it with an absolutely inarticulate and dangerous rage inside—all the more dangerous because it is never expressed. It is precisely those silent people whom white people see every day of their lives—I mean your porter and your maid, who never say anything more than "Yes, sir" and "No ma'am." They will tell you it's raining if that is what you want to hear, and they will tell you the sun is shining if *that* is what you want to hear. They really hate you—really hate you because in their eyes (and they're right) you stand between them and life. I want to come back to that in a moment. It is the most sinister of the facts, I think, which we now face.

There is something else the Negro child can do, too. Every street boy—and I was a street boy, so I know—looking at the society which has produced him, looking at the standards of that society which are not honored by anybody, looking at your churches and the government and the politicians, understands that this structure is operated for someone else's benefit—not for his. And there's no room in it for him. If he is really cunning, really ruthless, really strong—and many of us are—he becomes a kind of criminal. He becomes a kind of criminal because that's the only way he can live. Harlem and every ghetto in this city—every ghetto in this country—is full of people who live outside the law. They wouldn't dream of calling a policeman. They wouldn't, for a moment, listen to any of those professions of which we are so proud on the Fourth of July. They have turned away from this country forever and totally. They live by their wits and really long to see the day when the entire structure comes down.

The point of all this is that black men were brought here as a source of cheap labor. They were indispensable to the economy. In order to justify the fact that men were treated as though they were animals, the white republic had to brainwash itself into believing that they were, indeed, animals and deserved to be treated like animals. Therefore it is almost impossible for any Negro child to discover anything about his actual history. The reason is that this "animal," once he suspects his own worth, once he starts believing that he is a man, has begun to attack the entire power structure. This is why America has spent such a long time keeping the Negro in his place. What I am trying to suggest to you is that it was not an accident, it was not an act of God, it was not done by well-meaning people muddling into something which they didn't understand. It was a deliberate policy hammered into place in order to make money from black flesh. And now, in 1963, because we have never faced this fact, we are in intolerable trouble.

The Reconstruction, as I read the evidence, was a bargain between the North and South to this effect: "We've liberated them from the land—and delivered them to the bosses." When we left Mississippi to come North we did not come to freedom. We came to the bottom of the labor market, and we are still there. Even the Depression of the 1930's failed to make a dent in Negroes' relationship to white workers in the labor unions. Even today, so brainwashed is this republic that people seriously ask in what they suppose to be good faith, "What does the Negro want?" I've heard a great many asinine questions in my life, but that is perhaps the most asinine and perhaps the most insulting. But the point here is that people who ask that question, thinking that they ask it in good faith, are really the victims of this conspiracy to make Negroes believe they are less than human.

In order for me to live, I decided very early that some mistake had been made somewhere. I was not a "nigger" even though you called me one. But if I was a "nigger" in your eyes, there was something about you—there was something you needed. I had to realize when I was very young that I was none of those things I was told I was. I was not, for example, happy. I never touched a watermelon for all kinds of reasons. I had been invented by white people, and I knew enough about life by this time to understand that whatever you invent, whatever you project, is you! So where we are now is that a whole country of people believe I'm a "nigger," and I don't, and the battle's on! Because if I am not what I've been told I am, then it means that you're not what you thought you were either! And that is the crisis.

It is not really a "Negro revolution" that is upsetting this country. What is upsetting the country is a sense of its own identity. If, for example, one managed to change the curriculum in all the schools so that Negroes learned more about themselves and their real contributions to this culture, you would be liberating not only Negroes, you'd be liberating white people who know nothing about their own history. And the reason is that if you are compelled to lie about one aspect of anybody's history, you must lie about it all. If you have to lie about my real role here, if you have to pretend that I hoed all that cotton just because I loved you, then you have done something to yourself. You are mad.

Now let's go back a minute. I talked earlier about those silent people—the porter and the maid—who, as I said, don't look up at the sky if you ask them if it is raining, but look into your face. My ancestors and I were very well trained. We understood very early that this was not a Christian nation. It didn't matter what you said or how often you went to church. My father and my mother and my grandfather and my grandmother knew that Christians didn't act this way. It was as simple as that. And if that was so there was no point in dealing with white people in terms of their own moral professions, for they were not going to honor them. What one did was to turn away, smiling all the time, and tell white people what they wanted to hear. But people always accuse you of reckless talk when you say this.

All this means that there are in this country tremendous reservoirs of bitterness which have never been able to find an outlet, but may find an outlet soon. It means that well-meaning white liberals place themselves in great danger when they try to deal with Negroes as though they were missionaries. It means, in brief, that a great price is demanded to liberate all those silent people so that they can breathe for the first time and tell you what they think of you.

And a price is demanded to liberate all those white children—some of them near 40—who have never grown up, and who never will grow up, because they have no sense of their identity.

What passes for identity in America is a series of myths about one's heroic ancestors. It's astounding to me, for example, that so many people really appear to believe that the country was founded by a band of heroes who wanted to be free. That happens not to be true. What happened was that some people left Europe because they couldn't stay there any longer and had to go someplace else to make it. That's all. They were hungry, they were poor, they were convicts. Those who were making it in England, for example, did not get on the *Mayflower*. That's how the country was settled. Not by Gary Cooper. Yet we have a whole race of people, a whole republic, who believe the myths to the point where even today they select political representatives, as far as I can tell, by how closely they resemble Gary Cooper. Now this is dangerously infantile, and it shows in every level of national life. When I was living in Europe, for example, one of the worst revelations to me was the way Americans walked around Europe buying this and buying that and insulting everybody—not even out of malice, just because they didn't know any better. Well, that is the way they have always treated me. They weren't cruel, they just didn't know you were alive. They didn't know you had any feelings.

What I am trying to suggest here is that in the doing of all this for 100 years or more, it is the American white man who has long since lost his grip on reality. In some peculiar way, having created this myth about Negroes, and the myth about his own history, he created myths about the world so that, for example, he was astounded that some people could prefer Castro, astounded that there are people in the world who don't go into hiding when they hear the word "communism," astounded that communism is one of the realities of the 20th century which we will not overcome by pretending that it does not exist. The political level in this country now, on the part of the people who should know better, is abysmal.

The Bible says somewhere that where there is no vision the people perish. I don't think anyone can doubt that in this country today we are menaced—intolerably menaced—by a lack of vision.

It is inconceivable that a sovereign people should continue, as we do so abjectly, to say, "I can't do anything about it. It's the government." The government is the creation of the people. It is responsible to the people. And the people are responsible for it. No American has the right to allow the present government to say, when Negro children are being bombed and hosed and shot and beaten all over the deep South, that there is nothing we can do about it. There must have been a day in this country's life when the bombing of four children in Sunday School would have created a public uproar and endangered the life of a Governor Wallace. It happened here and there was no public uproar.

I began by saying that one of the paradoxes of education was that precisely at the point when you begin to develop a conscience, you must find yourself at war with your society. It is your responsibility to change society if you think of yourself as an educated person. And on the basis of the evidence—the moral and political evidence—one is compelled to say that this is a backward society. Now if I were a teacher in this school, or any Negro school, and I was dealing with Negro children, who were in my care only a few hours of every day and would then return to their homes and to the streets, children who have an apprehension of their future which with every hour grows grimmer and darker, I would try to teach them—I would try to make them know—that those streets, those houses, those dangers, those agonies by which they are surrounded, are criminal. I would try to make each child know that these things are the results of a criminal conspiracy to destroy him. I would teach him that if he intends to get to be a man, he must at once decide that he is stronger than this conspiracy and that he must never make his peace with it. And that one of his weapons for refusing to make his peace with it and for destroying it depends on what he decides he is worth. I would teach him that there are currently very few standards in this country which are worth a man's respect.

That it is up to him to begin to change these standards for the sake of the life and the health of the country. I would suggest to him that the popular culture—as represented, for example, on television and in comic books and in movies—is based on fantasies created by very ill people, and he must be aware that these are fantasies that have nothing to do with reality. I would teach him that the press he reads is not as free as it says it is—and that he can do something about that, too. I would try to make him know that just as American history is longer, larger, more various, more beautiful, and more terrible than anything anyone has ever said about it, so is the world larger, more daring, more beautiful and more terrible, but principally larger—and that it belongs to him. I would teach him that he doesn't have to be bound by the expediencies of any given administration, any given policy, any given time—that he has the right and the necessity to examine everything. I would try to show him that one has not learned anything about Castro when one says, "He is a Communist." This is a way of not learning something about Castro, something about Cuba, something, in fact, about the world. I would suggest to him that he is living, at the moment, in an enormous province. America is not the world and if America is going to become a nation, she must find a way—and this child must help to find a way—to use the tremendous potential and tremendous energy which this child represents. If this country does not find a way to use that energy, it will be destroyed by that energy.

RACISM IN EDUCATORS: A BARRIER TO QUALITY EDUCATION

By Ermon O. Hogan*

> Somehow, I happened to be alone in the classroom with Mr. Ostrowski, my English teacher. * * * I was one of his top students, one of the school's top students. * * * He told me, "Malcolm, you ought to be thinking about a career. Have you been giving it thought?" * * *
>
> "Well, yes, sir, I've been thinking I'd like to be a lawyer."
>
> Mr. Ostrowski looked surprised, I remember, and leaned back in his chair and clasped his hands behind his head.
>
> "Malcolm, one of life's first needs is for us to be realistic. Don't misunderstand me, now. We all like you, you know that. But you've got to be realistic about being a nigger. A lawyer—that's no realistic goal for a nigger. * * *"
>
> The more I thought afterwards about what he said, the more uneasy it made me. It just kept treading around in my mind. It was then that I began to change—inside. (1)
>
> —*Autobiography of Malcolm X*

Educators react with horror, anger, and condemnation at this incident of paternalistic racism from the "Autobiography of Malcolm X." However, racism and social class bias are very much a part of the curriculum in schools serving poor and minority youth. This "hidden curriculum" is conveyed covertly to students in inferior schools through low expectations, assignment to tracks, vocational-oriented counseling, rigidly controlled classroom behavior and, most insidiously, in disparaging references to intellectual limitations, family background and values. The negative psychological impact resulting from this curriculum has caused students to counter with aggressive or withdrawn behavior.

Social scientists, recently awakened to the problems of poor and minority youth in America's schools, have attributed this dilemma to the pathology of the ghetto family, community, and life style and to the hypothesized chasm existing between the middle class values of the school and the lower class values of the students. Few have dared look at the pathology caused by racism in educational institutions.

In assessing criteria for quality education in urban schools, it is imperative that we examine critically the influence of racism and social class bias on educational personnel, the promulgation of racism through the socialization process, the relationship of racism to education theory and the attitudes of school personnel, and then delineate variables critical to developing quality personnel for urban schools.

INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM AND AMERICAN EDUCATION

Maxine Green writes in "The Public School and the Private Vision":

> When, in the early nineteenth century, campaigns for public education began in America, the men who argued for the cause of common schools linked them to the ancestral promise and to the images of the American dream. Not only would the schools, they said, promise a common experience and a common heritage for the diverse children of the nation, they would also equip the young for the responsibilities of freedom, insure universal equality and guarantee prosperity through the years to come. (2)

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Notes at end of article.

However, during the last decade many educators and social activists have become painfully aware that the ancestral promise and the American dream for many children in this country have been analogous to Tantaulus' penance. Although our schools have provided a quasi-common heritage, they have not provided a common experience out of which youth could learn to develop the responsibilities of freedom, to respect universal equality, and to acquire the skills necessary to guarantee prosperity through the years to come. The resulting social tragedy was conceived and nurtured by means of the subjective interpretation of the concept "equality of educational opportunity." Historically, this major aim of education has reflected the values of the dominant class. Such "equality" has been interpreted and misinterpreted as a benefit for white Anglo-Saxon Protestants from distinct social classes. Rarely has this birthright included minority and poor youth.

The recent inclusion of minority and poor youth among those qualified for the benefits of equality of educational opportunity has not always evolved through an awareness of social injustice nor through increasing humanism and a new morality on the part of the great society. More often, it has been a reaction to pressures from civil rights groups, confrontations with black militants, and violence in urban communities. Most important, it is directly related to economic factors in our technological era. Brookover asserts:

> The contemporary concern with the education of the disadvantaged in American society reflects the failure to adequately educate certain subsocieties' youth for the contemporary social system. So long as the society needed large proportions of people with relatively low levels of competence and our beliefs in equality of educational opportunity were not too strongly held, the maintenance of a differentiated school program served the society adequately. The schools have functioned to maintain the differences which are now identified as cultural or education disadvantages. (3)

Deutsch, too, acknowledges that the schools have not assumed a leadership role in attacking racism and social class bias in our society. He writes:

> Generally education has been satisfied to offer an inferior intellectual diet in the urban ghetto, and the demand for change has not come from educators, but from external social forces demanding equality of opportunity. * * * The changes that are taking place in education * * * are for the most part being stimulated from the outside. (4)

The 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act encouraged school systems to begin educational reforms in ghetto schools. Ironically, the most ineffective districts were often rewarded for their past inefficiencies with large grants to continue to miseducate minority youth.

In addition to this act was the civil rights bill espousing the necessity for equal educational opportunity for all children. Additional funds were made available for school districts that had separate but unequal educational facilities and wanted to remedy an undemocratic, unconstitutional situation. This legislation produced a flood of confessions by school districts and State departments of education analogous to those of sinners at a Billy Graham rally. After this act of penance and the reward of additional Federal funds, all too frequently business was conducted as usual.

WHITE EXPERTS ON THE BLACK COMMUNITY

During this period, white experts on the black community came into view. Reissman, Passow, Ausubel, Jencks, ad infinitum, categorized, classified, and stereotyped minority groups and the children of the poor so successfully that few teachers perceived these children as educable.

One critic angrily stated after reviewing one of Passow's books:

> By equating negritude with a metaphysical category called the disadvantaged we assert that a Negro is not merely poor—but he is tainted with a stigma of racial inferiority no less virulent for its covert assumptions. (5)

Notes at end of article.

Few of the theories postulated by these eminent scholars were based on empirical research. The early body of knowledge regarding the "disadvantaged" was based upon "experts" quoting other "experts" until speculation became fact.

Three important research studies were conducted that illuminated the inequities in the American social order and served to further stereotype the black American: (1) Moynihan's analysis (1965) of the Negro family; (2) "Equality of Educational Opportunity" (Coleman, 1966); and (3) "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools" (1967).

The Moynihan report was the vanguard of recent national studies that focus on the plight of the black American. This report stated that the fabric of Negro society is deteriorating and at the heart of this process is the deterioration of the Negro family. The report asserted that the pathology is due to slavery and past oppression rather than the racism prevalent in American society. Whitney Young of the National Urban League wrote in answer to this report:

> The picture of prevalent pathology it presents just does not fit reality and is a gross injustice to the overwhelming majority of Negro families which are as stable as any in the Nation.
>
> Further, the statistics it quotes leave out factors which put its findings in doubt. Nowhere among the many charts in the reports is there a breakdown of comparative statistics which contrast figures for Negro families with those for white families of comparable income. What appear to be racial differences in regard to family stability are more probably class differences which Negro lower class families share with white. (6)

In response to the Moynihan report, Andrew Billingsley, a black professor at the University of California, authored "Black Families in White America" (1968). This book discusses the 75 percent of Negro families who have stable marriages, the 50 percent of Negro families who have managed to pull themselves into the middle class, the 90 percent of Negro families who are self-supporting, and the even larger proportion of Negro families who manage to keep out of trouble, often despite the grossest kinds of discrimination and provocation.

The study "Equality of Educational Opportunity" (Coleman, 1966) was conducted in response to section 402 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and sought to document: (1) the extent to which racial and ethnic groups are segregated in the public schools; (2) whether the schools offer equal educational opportunity; (3) how much students learn as measured by performance on standardized achievement tests; and (4) the possible relationship between student achievement and the kinds of schools they attend. James Coleman of Johns Hopkins University had major responsibility for the design, administration, and analysis of the survey. Ernest Campbell of Vanderbilt University shared the responsibility. The Coleman Report, like the Moynihan Report, has been the objective of much controversy. It verified the assumption that the vast majority of black and white children are educated in segregated schools. However, the findings regarding the other three concerns are tenuous at best.

Levin's critique (1968) of this report asserted that it suffered from important methodological errors, inadequate descriptions of the actual data used to test hypotheses, and sweeping conclusions which are often misleading and sometimes completely unsupported by the evidence that is presented. He stated that the report was overwhelmingly weighted in a direction that understated the importance of school resources in explaining variations in achievement. This report tends to take the heat off the social system that produces ill-educated students, and it continues the pattern of censoring the cultural influences of the environment.

The third report, "Racial Isolation in the Public Schools" (1967), is a reanalysis by Thomas F. Pettigrew, et al., of the Coleman Report data. Four major findings emerged from this report:

1. Racial isolation in the public schools, whatever its origin, inflicts harm upon Negro students.
2. Racial isolation in the public schools is intense and is growing worse.
3. Compensatory efforts to improve education for children within racially and socially segregated schools have been ineffective.
4. School desegregation remedies have been devised which will improve the quality of education for all children. (7)

Notes at end of article.

Pettigrew contends that only through racial integration will the deficits experienced by minority and poor children be overcome. Without this panacea, there is no hope. Quality education cannot be provided for the ghetto child within the framework of the inner city school because:

> * * * the performance of Negro students is distinctly less related to differences in the quality of schools and teachers than the social class and racial composition of their school. (8)

In discussing their findings, the researchers stated:

> The major source of the harm which racial isolation inflicts upon Negro children is not difficult to discover. It lies in the attitudes which such segregation generates in children and the effect these attitudes have upon motivation to learn and achievement. Negro children believe that their schools are stigmatized and regarded as inferior by the community as a whole. Their belief is shared by their parents and by their teachers. (9)

Notice that this statement refers first to deficiencies in the children, then the parents, and finally the teachers; i.e., segregation has caused students to have negative attitudes toward learning and achievement, has caused students to believe that their schools are stigmatized and regarded as inferior, and their belief is shared by parents and teachers. Is it not possible that school boards and administrators view the schools as stigmatized and inferior, that teachers view the children as uneducable, and that these attitudes are conveyed to parents and children? And, could it not also be possible that motivation and learning are reflections of teacher expectations along with nonacademically oriented community environments?

Pettigrew obviously was aware that the root of racism is deeply entrenched in both black and white Americans. Therefore, he could perceive no means other than integration of black children into middle class white schools to overcome this barrier.

Educators, civil rights activists, and social scientists were enchanted at first with the findings of the Coleman Report and "Racial Isolation." Integration was the panacea for the miseducation of black and poor youth. Then advocates of this theory suddenly discovered that there weren't enough middle class white children near black communities to raise the intellectual achievement of black and poor youth. And in communities where there were, little effort was made to move in this direction. Compensatory education had failed, and open occupancy legislation added little to the reality of the "ideal" of integrated education. As Edward Forte, superintendent of schools in Inkster, Mich., wryly stated: "Integration is the brief interlude between the time the first black family moves in and the last white family moves out."

Integration as a reality was as great a hoax on black people as the melting pot myth. And most important, it gave further credence to the stigma of racial inferiority because the burden of implementing it was placed on the black American. Black children rode the bus out of their neighborhoods into white communities. Black teachers who were considered superior were placed in white schools, leaving black children with average or poor teachers, both black and white. Some black teachers were declared inferior and dismissed because there was no place for them in integrated schools. Black parents were charged with being unconcerned about their children's education. And black children who did attempt to attend integrated schools outside their neighborhoods experienced physical, social, and emotional retribution—overt hostility, segregated ability grouping within an integrated school, apartheid in extracurricular activities, and a curriculum designed to "meet the needs" of the disadvantaged migrant.

The above discussion does not mitigate integration as a viable goal for all children in a democratic, pluralistic society. However, if we establish integration as a priority, then it must be pursued on an equalitarian basis, with all groups recognizing its merit and working diligently toward its achievement.

RACISM IN THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

If, as the Kerner Report states, racism is a reality in America, and if we are to combat the insidiousness of its curriculum in American schools, we must view the manner in which it is developed and nurtured in the socialization process.

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Harley (1968) has carefully analyzed institutionalized racism engendered in American society and draws upon Rose's (1950) "social control" or caste structure theory to explain American race relations. He uses Berreman's definition of caste: "a hierarchy of endogamous divisions in which membership is hereditary and permanent." This statement, Harley believes, historically characterizes the composition and relations between the races in our society. The races are perceived in a hierarchy with whites in the superior role. The races are thought to be separate species, and status is defined by parentage, with crossbreeding between the races forbidden. Caste membership is seen as permanent as evidenced by the persistent effort to "keep the Negro in his place" and the tremendous resistance to all changes in the system. Harley continues:

> Color bars, cries of white supremacy and purity of the races and all the other catch phrases and ideological harangues of the prejudiced are essentially statements made to announce and reinforce the sanctions of the dominant caste. When these sanctions or racial types are closely examined, they have all the primary characteristics of a caste system. Thus, the genesis of racist attitudes is seen to be part of the total process of enculturation and the attitudes themselves part of the fund of social common knowledge.
>
> The mechanism of caste distinction in America is simple and straightforward—the social perceptions are learnings and distinctly social products. And that which must be learned by the members of the society is also simple and straightforward. As Dollard indicates, "Whiteness indicates full personal dignity and full participation in American society. Blackness represents limitation and inferiority." (10)

He also refers to Davis' discussion of the mechanism for enculturation of racist attitudes:

> For learning and maintaining the appropriate caste behavior, an individual of either the black or white group is rewarded by approval and acceptance for this caste; if he violates the controls, he is punished physically, economically, socially, or legally, depending upon the seriousness of the infraction. (11)

Black people in America have been striving constantly to free themselves from the caste system. During the late 1960's, after years of sit-ins, wade-ins, pray-ins, and other humiliating pleas to the white community for racial justice, the black people escalated their efforts. They realized that any improvement in their condition would have to be attained through other methods. Recognizing that racism is perpetuated through enculturation, they decided to inhibit this phenomenon by controlling the second major social institution that influences the minds of black children—the schools. This effort to defy the caste-class system caused the mechanism for social control to whip into motion.

In New York City, for example, the public schools were paralyzed for several months during an intense power struggle. Strange alliances were made in an effort to maintain the status quo. Physical, social, and legal punishment was inflicted upon those who attempted to change patterns of control in the New York public school system.

RACISM AND TEACHER ATTITUDES

Ruth Benedict writes in "*Patterns of Culture*":

> No man ever looks at the world with pristine eyes. He sees it edited by a definite set of customs and institutions and ways of thinking. Even in his philosophical probings he cannot go behind these stereotypes; his very concepts of the true and the false will still have reference to his particular traditional customs. (12)

Smith (chapter 3) illustrates this concept when he points out that nowhere has the effect of white supremacy been more pervasive and more debilitating than in the American school. White racism has poisoned the American school, and the most deadly paralysis of all is that which renders school personnel almost totally unaware of their social sickness.

Research relevant to teacher attitudes, expectations, and behavior toward disadvantaged youth demonstrates how racism produced by the socialization

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process has been stronger than professional responsibility. Becker (1962) and Clark (1964) used the interview as a research tool to identify teachers' perceptions of inner city students. Becker found that teachers believe inner city children are difficult to teach, uncontrollable, violent, and morally unacceptable on all criteria. Clark asked a group of white students to interview a sample of white teachers in the New York inner city. Fifty percent of the teachers stated that Negroes are inherently inferior in intelligence and therefore cannot be expected to learn. They believed that the humanitarian thing to do is to provide schools essentially as custodial institutions.

Groff's survey (1963) of 294 teachers in 16 inner city schools corroborates the findings of Becker and Clark. Forty percent of those interviewed in Groff's study stated that the personalities of socially disadvantaged children are responsible for the dissatisfaction that leads to high turnover rates among teachers.

Gottlieb (1964) also assessed the views of Negro and white teachers toward students in a northern urban community. He found differential perceptions of students by their teachers. White teachers typically selected adjectives indicating that black students are talkative, lazy, high strung, rebellious, and funloving. Black teachers viewed the same students as happy, cooperative, energetic, ambitious, and funloving. The adjectives attributed to the students by white teachers are similar to the stereotypes of Negroes held by American society. Allport (1954) relates that Negroes are traditionally stereotyped as mentally inferior, lazy, superstitious, emotionally unstable, happy-go-lucky, religious, dirty, and morally primitive.

Attitudes held by prospective teachers do not differ markedly from those of experienced teachers. Grambs (1950) found that undergraduate education students expressed good, tolerant attitudes toward children of all groups in our society but that the degree of acceptance dropped markedly if the personal lives of the future teachers were involved. A recent study conducted by the author (Hogan, 1968) shows that attitudes have not changed in the last 18 years. Undergraduate education students were asked to react to a hypothetical situation. When they were asked to reside in the community of an inner city school, a majority of the students stated they would accept the teaching assignment, but few could accept the idea of living in the community. The modern acculturation mechanism obviously is plastic enough to permit the utterance of verbal platitudes but strong enough to prevent interaction other than at sanctioned levels.

An exploratory study also was conducted on the attitudes of undergraduate education students at a large midwestern university toward teaching in the inner city (Hogan and Boca, 1968). Only 16 percent of the students stated that they preferred to teach in the inner city. Fear, value conflicts, and job difficulty were given as primary reasons for not desiring such an assignment. The students said their reasons were based on personal feelings and information from the communications media. Personal feelings may be attributed to cultural conditioning of racial attitudes, which in turn have been supported by the communications media.

Findings of the Michigan Public School Racial Census conducted in 1967 for the Michigan State Department of Education showed that teacher attitudes toward pupils were negative in classes with a large proportion of black pupils. The report states:

> It appears that the greater the proportion of Negro pupils in a class, the lower the teachers' rating of their pupils' academic ability and motivation.

A seminal study conducted by Jacobson (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968) clearly points out the influence of racism on teachers' perceptions of their students. Jacobson asked two groups of teachers to rank a set of children's photographs by their American or Mexican appearance (American was not defined). Essentially, the teachers agreed on their rankings. They were then asked to rank photographs of Mexican children who were unknown to one group of teachers but were the students of the other group. Here there was little agreement. The teachers who knew the Mexican children saw those with higher IQ's as looking more American. The significant correlation of IQ and appearance was present only when the IQ scores were known. Apparently, teachers agreed in their perception of "Mexican-looking" until they knew how a child tested—then their perceptions showed a marked change.

The above research demonstrates that teachers, reflecting the institutionalized values of the larger society, have traditionally held negative perceptions of disadvantaged and minority youth. We shall now look at the manner in which these perceptions have caused educators to misinterpret educational and psychological theory.

RACISM AND EDUCATIONAL THEORY

Racism wears many faces in the classroom. We are all too familiar with the type of teacher who told his student, "We just got a new dog at our house. As a matter of fact, he looks very much like you; he looks so much like you that we've decided to call him 'Blackie'." (13) Overt hostility such as this receives much publicity and—like the behavior of Mr. Ostrowski in the excerpt from the "Autobiography of Malcolm X"—arouses horror and indignation in most school personnel.

However, the covert and often unconscious behavior of teachers and administrative personnel who interpret psychological and educational theory to mean that poor and black children cannot learn is equally damaging. Frank Riessman first popularized the term, "culturally deprived" a sophisticated synonym for inherent inferiority, and delineated the dominant characteristics of this child: slow mentally, which may give the impression of stupidity, physically oriented, anti-intellectual, pragmatic rather than theoretical, inflexible and not open to reason about many of his beliefs, deficient in auditory attention and interpretation skills, an ineffective reader and generally deficient in the communication skills, ignorant in many areas, and often suggestible, although he may be suspicious of innovations. In later writing. Riessman described the "overlooked positives of disadvantaged groups." The "positives" were as damaging as the original stereotypes.

Armed with this ammunition—in addition to the alleged pathology of the culture of poverty and other concepts exhorted by educational, sociological, and psychological theoreticians—school personnel justified their behavior toward minority and poor children. For example, the concept of "readiness" has been the major rationalization for the miseducation of ghetto children.

E. L. Thorndike never dreamed he was creating a monster when he stated the law of readiness: "A learner must be ready to learn." This rather hazy concept simply meant that the desired response is available and likely to occur. However, defining readiness was tenuous at best. If an organism learned, apparently it was ready. If it did not, apparently is was not ready.

Many educators have overlooked motivation and teacher expectation as selected factors that relate to readiness. Educators, utilizing their usual eclectic approach to psychology, meshed this principle with maturation and concluded that readiness for learning tasks follows a pattern similar to physiological readiness. The process was fixed and could not be accelerated. Therefore, children who were not enchanted by the dry, sterile curriculum and rigid teaching methods obviously were not ready to learn. Such middleclass children were considered underachievers, and lower class and black children were considered dull. Teachers awaiting the "teachable moment" busied the children with activities such as coloring maps, cleanliness, mannerliness, resting, field trips, and so forth. In the meantime, they empathized with each other in the faculty lounge for their martyrdom and maliciously exchanged tidbits about the children's lineage and abilities.

Readiness was soon superseded by the concept "critical period"—the time in which certain tasks are most likely to be learned. If this period is passed without task attainment, then the specific task may never be fully learned. The critical period, eclectically interpreted, further absolved the schools from responsibility for the low level of learning in ghetto schools. Children who failed to achieve "readiness" certainly missed the "critical period," and so schools in the inner city became custodial rather than educational institutions.

Next, the term "motoric" was applied to the ghetto child. Miller and Swanson (1960) asserted that if the teacher enables the lower class child to express himself with the large muscles of the torso and limbs, the students may make surprising educational progress. Other theorists have written long essays about the physically-oriented child who learns best through role-playing, games, and dramatic play. However, a visit to any middle-class public or private school, prekindergarten through graduate school, will find these students, too, involved in a variety of active learning experiences that serve to make education exciting and challenging.

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THE TEACHER AND QUALITY EDUCATION

The teacher is a significant person in bringing quality education to ghetto schools. Arthur Combs (1962) asserts that some improvements sought by educators can be brought about by spending more money, by building better schools, by introducing new courses of study, new standards, or new equipment. However, he believes the most important changes will occur only as teachers change, for institutions are made up of people and it is the classroom behavior of teachers that will finally determine whether our schools fail or whether they meet the challenge of our times.

Carl Rogers (1967) also stresses the importance of the teacher's attitude and behavior in the classroom. He postulates that one of the most important conditions facilitating learning is the quality of attitudes in the interpersonal relationship between teacher and learner. He emphasizes the need for teachers to be genuine instead of putting on a facade. Teachers must prize, accept, and trust their students in addition to developing an empathic understanding of them. According to Rogers, individuals who hold attitudes of genuiness and trust in their students are more effective in the classroom than those who do not. Weinberg (1967) also believes that teachers hold the key to progress in education. He believes that what counts in the classroom and *throughout the schools* is the human meaning of the interaction of professional personnel and children.

In ghetto schools, the interaction between professional personnel and children has operated in the racist frame of reference. For many years humanism has taken the form of kindly missionaries collecting cast-off clothing for the natives. Humanism has meant concern for hygiene, deportment, and nutrition with little concern for encouraging children to learn.

Rapidly replacing the missionary is the educational mercenary who has suddenly become concerned about the education of poor and black children. This individual is often employed as an instructional specialist, curriculum specialist, or communications media specialist, who has been given the responsibility of helping teachers meet the learning needs of disadvantaged children. Like the specialists in Jonathan Kozol's *Death at an Early Age*, many special school personnel neither like nor understand the black child. They continue to measure him by white middle class standards and believe there is gross pathology in the black community. With the aid of Title I funds, they have purchased books, tapes, projectors, tape recorders, and films that collect dust in the closets of the school. Few teachers know how to use these new media, and even fewer want to use them. The specialist plans numerous field trips for the children that are totally unrelated to the curriculum.

One critic of these practices cited the following incident. A field trip was planned to acquaint the "disadvantaged" children with trains (even though planes are more relevant to this age). Much time was spent insuring that the children had the correct change for the fare, had brought their lunch, and were dressed properly. No preparation was given regarding trains as a mode of transportation. The children then rode the train, ate their lunch, and talked about the same experiences they talked about on the playground. Any learning that took place was incidental.

Humanism in the classroom should mean that the teacher is a professional educator who accepts the child as an individual, believes he can learn, and provides educational experiences to insure that he does learn. This teacher respects the child and is concerned about his personal life but does not use the handicaps he brings to the classroom to obviate learning. Hunger, hygiene, and health certainly must be taken care of before the child is ready to learn, but the ultimate goal is education.

An effective teacher in an urban school recognizes the importance of involving parents in the education of the child. Numerous contacts must be made with parents. These contacts should include visits to the home to discuss the mutual responsibility to encourage learning. The teacher's role is not to educate the parent but to learn more about the child from the parent. Notes should be written and calls should be made to praise the child's efforts and to encourage improved performance.

It is extremely important that teachers exercise control over the quality of education in their colleagues' classrooms. The teacher has a responsibility to insure that students throughout the school receive the best education. It is inexcusable for a teacher, under the guise of academic freedom, to be oblivious of miseducation in other classrooms.

An effective teacher in any school must have mastery of the subject matter. One critical problem in poor schools is the large number of permanent substitutes and individuals teaching out of their field. It is indeed strange that educators concerned about providing an abundant educational environment for deprived children begin with teachers who are so ill-equipped to provide such an environment.

For example, the Chicago public schools announced in 1968 that for the first time in many years they had a waiting list of teachers for the inner city. College students who could no longer qualify for draft deferments were promised deferments if they taught in inner city schools. A 2-week orientation to teaching was provided. School personnel asserted that ghetto children would have "good" male models in their classrooms and would benefit from the expertise of these scholars. However, in a Chicago newspaper article, the prospective teachers were quoted as saying they would not have accepted the positions if the war in Vietnam were over, and only a small percentage intended to remain in the field of education.

To insure that teacher quality is maintained, inservice education should be continuous, and it should be conducted during school hours. It is unrealistic to expect teachers to be receptive to continuing education programs held after school and on Saturdays.

Inservice education should include the updating of subject matter. Experts in curriculum areas should be brought in to share the most recent findings with the faculty. Instructional specialists should demonstrate the latest instructional methodology to teachers. Concepts such as individualized instruction and skill grouping should be demonstrated in a realistic setting to prove that they are possible. Social psychologists and sociologists should help teachers interpret problems in the student-teaching environment and determine strategies to resolve them. Parents should be invited to inservice sessions to inform teachers of their aspirations and concerns for their children. In planning inservice sessions, teachers should have the responsibility for determining the priorities and developing the calendar. Inservice education should also include a teacher-exchange program. Teachers could gain experience in other community schools, while other teachers should welcome the opportunity to teach in a challenging inner city situation.

In-service education should be stimulating and motivating. It should include incentives for teachers, such as expense-paid trips to regional and national professional conferences, scholarships for culturally enriching travel, and additional salary for the development of curriculum guides and materials.

OTHER RESOURCES ESSENTIAL FOR QUALITY EDUCATION

In addition to the teacher, we must provide other resources to insure quality education. In order to do this, expenditures for schools should be in direct proportion to the needs of the students. In schools where academic achievement is lowest, the per-pupil expenditure should be highest. At present, the reverse is true. We must have a pupil-teacher ratio that corresponds with the needs of the students and the skills of the teacher. We must utilize the services of paraprofessionals in order that the teacher may function as a learning and behavioral diagnostician, rather than perform many roles inadequately.

We must provide curriculum materials that are relevant to the student's background and interests. We must extend the schoolday and the school year in order to achieve and maintain high levels of learning. We must have, in each school, a learning center where a variety of educational hardware and software are available for individualized and group instruction. And we must make available on the school premises the necessary health services for the prevention and remediation of physical and psychological problems. Early childhood education should be provided for preschool children so they will begin school with the cognitive and effective skills essential to success.

Finally, parents must be involved in the education of their children through a range of experiences—as representatives on school governing boards and advisory committees and as room mothers and paraprofessionals. Parents, school personnel, and boards of education have served as a check and balance system in middle class communities to insure high levels of educational attainment. A similar system must be developed in schools for the poor.

Parents in black and poor communities often appear to be unconcerned about the education of their children. This is not true. These parents are deeply concerned and view education as a way of insuring that their children will have a better life. However, because they are able to recall bitter experiences as children enrolled in the public schools, they are hesitant about interacting with the educational establishment. Because their language is not sophisticated and their dress is often less than fashionable, they are reluctant to come to school and express their opinions. School authorities often are paternalistic and use educational jargon to talk down to parents. They put them on the defensive and make them feel guilty and uncomfortable. Hostility and confrontations are the result. Mechanisms must be developed to facilitate the involvement of low-income parents in the education of their children. A climate of mutual respect must be developed if school personnel and parents are to cooperate in educating poor children.

SUMMARY

Providing quality education in low income schools is one of the most critical problems in American education. Many have viewed this problem simplistically and assert that quality will come in poor schools through reduced class size, through educational hardware and software, and through new physical plants. Material improvements are essential to quality; however, they do not insure quality. The major barrier to improving the quality of the educational environment for black and poor children is covert and often unconscious racism in educational personnel.

In this chapter, we have seen how racism is inculcated in black and white Americans through the socialization process and how it is reflected in teacher attitudes, expectations, behavior, and interpretations of educational theory.

How can the influence of racism be eliminated? This is the question that white Americans ask, for they believe it can be obliterated as easily as removing an uncomfortable garment. Few people recognize that racism is deeply entrenched. Young black Americans recognize this and are working desperately to attack the racism that has clouded their minds and their self-images. With slogans such as "Black is Beautiful" and "Black Power," natural hair styles and dashikis, they are rejecting the norms set for them by white society and developing new values and standards of their own. White America can learn from this search for identity. They, too, should be searching for the true relationship between the races and casting off the paternalistic role they assume so readily. Rather than attempting to rationalize black America's behavior, they should be studying white America and developing strategies to combat racism. With both groups aggressively attacking this insidious phenomenon, we may look forward to a multiracial, pluralistic nation that is truly democratic.

To eradicate the influence of racism on school personnel, educational institutions must consider it a major priority. Efforts should include pre-service and in-service seminars designed to make personnel sensitive to their attitudes and able to deal with them objectively. Because racism is deeply ingrained in all individuals, it is unrealistic to assume it can be eliminated in a short period of time. Programs to attack this phenomenon must be on-going. It is also extremely important that the entire spectrum of educational personnel from superintendent to custodian be involved in this process.

When people become aware of their attitudes and learn techniques and behaviors to change them, then educational innovations will play a meaningful role. Without this first step, material improvements will be utilized in the traditional paternalistic manner that has retarded the educational development of black children.

Once people can deal effectively with racist attitudes, perhaps teachers like Mr. Ostrowski will respond to their students' ambitions with remarks that will encourage them to reach for the stars. And the dream of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., will be realized.

NOTES

(1) Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press, 1965), pp. 36–37. Reproduced by permission.

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POSITION STATEMENT

FIVE STATE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL

TO THE

OFFICE OF METROPOLITAN EDUCATIONAL COLLABORATION
CONFERENCE ON EDUCATIONAL SUB-SYSTEMS

January 25, 1968

Black people in America in the year 1968 find ourselves at a critical point in our history. Having survived more than 350 years of brutal oppression at the hands of the white majority, we are now faced with two alternatives:

1. We can submit to the continued control by white people of the institutions that control our lives realizing fully that those people are victims of an ethnocentric ideology which cannot envision the development of a viable nonwhite civilization in modern times, and which, therefore, is bent on the genocide of all black people.
2. We can battle with whatever weapons and through whatever means necessary to wrest control of these basic institutions from the hands of those in power in order to develop our own black consciousness in accord with our sense of human values and the possibilities of human development.

It is no longer reasonable to expect that black people will continue to accept oppressive colonization by the white majority; nor that black people will submit to a genocidal system that deprives white as well as black of certain potentialities for human development.

Black people in American cities are in the process of developing the power to assume control of these public and private institutions in our community. The single institution which carries the heaviest responsibility for dispensing or promulgating those values which identifies a group's consciousness of itself is the educational system. To leave the education of black children in the hands of people who are white and who are racist is tantamount to suicide.

Recognizing the critical nature of public education in the five cities represented at this conference and the destructive affects of the system on the black community in particular, concerned black participants have formed a black caucus to address the question: "How do we gain control of our schools; thus the destiny of our children?"

OUR POSITION ON EDUCATIONAL SUB-SYSTEMS

We are firmly opposed to the concept of educational subsystems. As we see it, subsystems take their place alongside compensatory education programs, proposals designed to racially balance the schools, and other techniques created by white Americans to avoid presenting relevant and innovative educational programs. These efforts are only token modifications of the power relationships which currently exclude black people from all levels of participation in the education process.

We also reject the concept of subsystems because educators are taking what was essentially a black movement for control of our schools and refining that movement to their advantage, creating the concepts of subsystems, decentralization and community schools. There must be a clear differentiation between the concepts of educational subsystems and the movement toward self-determination. Black people will not be satisfied with the compromise which subsystems present. We will do whatever is necessary to gain control of our schools. We view movements toward incorporation of the concept of community control into school systems whose basic control remains with the establishment as destructive to the movement among black people for self-determination.

OUR DEFINITION OF CONTROL

The nature of the control we seek does not mean merely naming black people into administrative positions in the existing public school systems. Control must extend to the active members of the community for which the schools exist. The objectives of our concept of control of the schools are fourfold:

1. Decisionmaking in regard to the procedures and processes of education must be responsive to the community.
2. There must be organization for absolute administrative and fiscal control of the school.
3. The function of education must be redefined to make it responsive and accountable to the community.
4. Supporters must be committed to complete control of the educational goals as they relate to the larger goals of community development and self-determination.

STRATEGIES: GENERAL

The strategies for accomplishing control of our schools will be essentially twofold:

1. Mobilizing community concern in regard to the need for community control.
2. Training community people (everyone with a stake in the products of the school) to effectively participate in the new process of community control of our schools.

STRATEGIES: SPECIFIC

The Five-City Organizing Committee for Community Control herein suggests the need for the following. We welcome and will actively seek moneys for the implementation of these activities.

1. The organization of a national network of communication for black people concerned with the control of the schools in their communities.
2. A national conference of community people to discuss varying ideas of gaining control of schools in black communities.
3. Development of a program to influence black professionals and university people to refuse to participate in any educational conference without being accompanied by parents or community activities. Black professionals also need to be influenced to begin a dialog and working relationship with the educational consumer; namely, the student. Professionals will also be influenced to refuse to participate in any educational programs that do not adhere to our definition of control and address the question of helping community people gain this control of the schools.
4. Development of a pool of resources relevant to the educational needs of the black community as defined by the members of that community.

In sum, we demand the responsibility for what happens to our children. We consider it an insult to be asked to prove whether we can do a better job in order to be granted the necessary resources and support. We should not be forced into answering the question, "Can you do it better?" to those who have failed miserably in the past despite their control over substantial resources.

Our vision for control by the community is not on a demonstration basis for 1 or 2 years, but indefinitely.

THE DIXIE SCHOOLS CHARADE

By Alex Poinsett

Sad songs of farewell float through the open gymnasium windows at Ruffin (South Carolina) High School as 125 black and white seniors rehearse for the school's first racially integrated graduation. Memories of his first desegregated year stream through the mind of the Rev. R. A. Leonard, black principal of the 600-student high school where blacks outnumber whites two to one. "It was a very good year," he finally says in summation. "There were no major problems as far as the races were concerned. I fear maybe they got along too well so far as the boys and girls were concerned. Some of the white girls were hero worshippers. They ran after the black star athletes. I counseled with the boys and girls. I didn't discourage social contact, but I discouraged courtship because this is a small, conservative community."

The principal goes on to explain that "Miss Ruffin High" was a black girl, while the homecoming queen was white, "because we kind of had an understanding." He believes the school year went quite well even though there were no school dances and the junior-senior prom was cancelled.

Leonard's experience with school desegregation contrasts with its handling by the Nixon administration which during 2 years of "footdragging" has been sabotaging the very school laws it is supposed to enforce. Most of the momentum for desegregation had come—not from verbose Nixonian apostles of "law and order"—but from the Supreme Court's *Alexander* decision (October 1969), replacing its own "deliberate speed" doctrine with a mandate to tear down dual school systems immediately. The decision had been opposed by the administration which continued dangling an olive branch to Dixie much like the 19th century Republican President Rutherford B. Hayes who withdrew Federal troops from the South and relaxed the enforcement of Federal laws protecting the black minority. In the modern-day sellout, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is withholding funds from only one Southern district and passing the buck to an equally reluctant Justice Department to bring numerous others into compliance with the law. The wisdom of Nixon's "Southern Strategy" seemed confirmed last October when HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson jubilantly announced that all but 76 of the South's 2,700 school districts were desegregated, that 90.5 percent of the South's white and black students were attending schools in "unitary" systems and that "unprecedented progress" had been achieved in the dismantling of dual schools.

Progress? Not so, contended the Atlanta-based Southern Regional Council. The administration had played a deceptive game of numbers, it charged. By reporting desegregation in terms of "unitary" systems instead of its previous measuring criterion—the percentage of black children attending desegregated schools—HEW had produced its glowing figures. But the difference between the two criteria was the difference, say, how, between counting mixed fruit by freight carloads or by crates. Under administration reckoning, a school system could be desegregated and yet consist of largely segregated schools just as a carload of fruit could be loosely called mixed though only two of its crates contained apples while the remaining 98 held oranges.

Months after the Council's critique, HEW finally released more precise figures showing the actual extent of school desegregation. Black students in majority-white schools rose from 18.4 to 39.1 percent between the 1968–69 and 1970–71 school years, while black students attending all-black schools dropped from 68 to 14.1 percent. That there had been statistical progress was undeniable.

Nevertheless, HEW's figures are still misleading insofar as they underscore the quantitative aspects of school desegregation while masking the qualitative. Last March, for example, the General Accounting Office—Congress chief investigative arm—generally substantiated earlier charges from six civil rights groups (The American Friends Service Committee; Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches; Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law; Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee; NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., and the Washington Research Project). These groups charged that $75 million in emergency Federal funds appropriated to facilitate desegregation had been misused (one critic suggested the money was a straight payoff to Southern schools for their minimal compliance with the law). Thus Jackson, Miss., was given a $1.3 million desegregation grant 4 days before it even filed an application for funds. Talladega County, Ala., received $168,247 after lying to HEW officials that there was no discrimination against black teachers.

Generally, the funding procedures assumed that a financial emergency existed in desegregating school districts, an emergency best met by sending Federal money to as many of these districts as could be reached in the shortest possible time. President Nixon's personal order had been to "get that money out there" and it was gotten out, even though, in some instances, projects were funded on the basis of racist claims—that black children have special defects of character, that they are specially suited to training for menial jobs, that they have poor hygiene. School districts not even engaged in terminal desegregation were funded and large amounts of Federal "desegregation" money went to projects which had little or nothing to do with desegregation.

The funds, in fact, may be helping the South to resist desegregation in newer, more subtle ways. In community after community, black schools are closed and converted to warehouses, vocational education centers or administration buildings. Then to relieve the inevitable overcrowding of formerly white schools, mobile classrooms are purchased or expensive additions made. In the process, black students are the ones who take the longest bus rides to all-white schools run by all-white school boards in all-white neighborhoods. White students are not similarly burdened as they continue attending their old schools in their own neighborhoods. Blacks, meanwhile, lose a familiar and much-needed meeting place and social center. Worst of all, because white parents cannot tolerate their children attending schools once set aside for blacks, school policy is fashioned to suit their prejudices, with little concern for the feelings of black parents.

The joint report from the six civil rights groups states that at least 384 black schools have been closed within 3 years. Many of the black schools allowed to remain open are renovated and remodeled to make them fit for white students. So it is that in Anderson, Pendleton, and Williamston, S.C., all of the toilets or toilet seats in the formerly black schools have been replaced, though repairs were not needed. The former black school in Chester County, Tenn., has been fumigated to "deniggerize" it, while Brinkley, Ark., has redecorated a black school "to get rid of disease."

Again, HEW's recent figures on Southern school desegregation progress are also misleading because they ignore 1) widespread segregation in classrooms, buses and extracurricular activities within supposedly desegregated schools; 2) massive dismissals or demotions of black teachers, principals, athletic coaches, band directors and counselors, and 3) the flight of whites to private "segregation academies" to escape desegregation. Clearly, the same whites who yesterday fiercely resisted school desegregation, today effectively determine its tone and pace, going to almost psychotic extremes to keep black and white students separated. Some schools adopt separate bell systems to call black and white children to classes, while others place the students in separate classrooms. Black students in Anderson County, S.C., sit on one side of a high school history classroom, white students on the other, with a row of empty desks down the middle. Chalkboards similarly divide a classroom in Carthage, Tex.

Numerous Southern school districts use track systems to segregate students. Higher tracks are predominantly white, and lower tracks are invariably all-black with black pupils being assigned to vocational remedial classes. Typically, lower track and nonacademic classes are taught by black teachers, and higher track or college preparatory classes are taught by whites. In some districts, students are tracked into A, B, C, D, and E groupings. Thus in Okolona, Miss., this method, reportedly based on California Achievement Test scores, assigns sixth graders at one school this way:

A—all white. B—5-black of 22 in the class. C—approximately 50-50 black-white ratio. D—7 white of 32 in the class. E—29 black students, no whites.

Reportedly, testing and grouping of the students at this school, are performed only by white teachers. No black teacher has an A or B class, while no white teaches a D or E.

These racial patterns generally carry over from curricular to extracurricular activities in Southern schools. Such social events as school proms are no longer held in many high schools but in white students' homes or in other places where blacks are excluded. In some schools black girls have been elected cheerleaders, but more often, cheerleading teams and all school clubs, including the student government, are all white.

When a black student was elected 11th grade class president in Waskom, Tex., the school board met and decided the previous year's officers would serve again. In Texarkana, Tex., no applications for school social clubs are accepted from black students. The school allows an all-white club sponsored by the Kiwanis, but will not permit an Afro-student union. In West Orange-Cove, Tex., when black students moved to the desegregated high school, they were told to turn in their honor society pins and were not allowed to join the society at their new school.

A star athlete may be accepted on a team, especially if he can help win a State championship, but as one high school student in Center, Tex., noted: "All they want us to do is play football on the field and sit quiet in the classroom. And all I want to do is get out of this mess." A Mobile, Ala., high schooler reports black football players carry the ball to "about the 99-yard line," then a white player is substituted to score the touchdown.

Similarly, the Mize, Miss., high school voted a white girl as homecoming queen and, surprisingly enough, a black fellow as king last spring. A parade was scheduled in which the king and queen traditionally ride together through town. Pressure mounted from the townsfolk. Finally, the black youth was called in and told there had been an awful mistake. He was ineligible to be king, school officials explained, because he had not attended the school for a year.

Generally, desegregated schools operate on terms set by whites, governed by white rules, and committed to the perpetuation of white values, attitudes, and traditions. With the myth of white supremacy so omnipresent, many black students feel they have experienced displacement, rather than desegregation. At the desegregated Carthage, Tex., high school they are not allowed to wear award jackets, sweaters, or colors from their old black high school. Black senior girls in Tyler, Tex., have been told they cannot have their class pictures taken with Afro hairdos. In most schools, black school trophies and school pictures either disappeared or are displayed in places other than the desegregated high school. In Edgefield, S.C., the desegregated school retains the old white schools' name, Strom Thurmond High, as well as its colors, the Confederate flag, the team name, "Rebels," and the school song, "Dixie." Asked how white students would feel if all of the black symbols had been adopted instead, the principal explained simply: "But that's different."

Segregated busing is the same as always, however, in many southern school districts. In some, separate schoolbuses carry black and white students over identical or closely similar routes. In other districts, as in Lauderdale County, Miss., some of the bus seats are reserved for whites and the others for black students. On three occasions, black children have sat in seats reserved for whites because the black section was full; and on each occasion, the blacks have been suspended for 3 days for violating the racial seating arrangement.

In the face of these monstrous insults, black students throughout the South express new attitudes of dignity, self-reliance, impatience, and unwillingness to endure continuing discrimination in their daily school lives. Although short-changed in separate black schools they see little improvement in "desegregated" education. Within 6 weeks after school opened in the fall of 1970, 152 districts had expelled blacks and 95 had expelled whites. Five times as many black students as white students were involved. While whites were expelled generally for school discipline problems, more than 80 percent of the black students were expelled for participation in protests or demonstrations.

Thus, black students at Anderson County No. 4, S.C., have been suspended from the band for refusing to play "Dixie" and march behind the Confederate flag. Black high schoolers in Earle, Ark., have walked out of classes to protest suppression of black expression, segregated classrooms and facilities, demotion of black personnel, and the banning of blacks from school activities. Some 53 black students (average age 13) in east Tallahatchie, Miss., have served 20-day prison sentences at the notorious Parchman State Prison for protesting the elimination of some school activities, a busing system that placed a greater burden on them than on white students, and against other racist actions of the school board.

And so one North Carolina student laments: "If you start to even question any of the rules and regulations, even if you know they are directed against you, you are called a Communist or you are just a black militant that is going totally insane."

And Anita Kleinpeter, a black honor student from Lake Providence, La., reiterates: "You feel like you are nothing, like you don't have any say-so about anything because if you say it you are not heard. You feel like you are nothing, you don't have any kind of voice at all. . . . After I got over there [in the "desegregated" school] I was under so much pressure I just didn't even care if I made it or not. It didn't make any difference. I just gave it up."

Compounding the hurt, black students find that the authority figures who once gave them pride and a sense of security—generally their black principals, but also many of their black teachers and coaches—have been demoted, dismissed outright, denied new contracts or pressured into resigning, and the less educated, less experienced teachers hired to replace them include fewer and fewer blacks. The National Education Association reports 1,072 black educators lost their jobs from 1968 to 1970 in six Southern States. At the same time, 5,575 white teachers and administrators were hired by those States—Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas.

Instead of releasing black teachers outright, most school boards relieve former department heads of their titles and demote high school teachers to junior high or elementary school classrooms while shifting white teachers into junior and senior high levels. The boards place blacks in federally funded programs, such as those under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and when the Federal money runs low or is revoked, release them. Or the boards put black teachers in subjects out of their field, and when the English teacher has trouble teaching science they fire her for "incompetence." Blacks are made "coteachers" with a domineering white, "teacher's aides" without responsibility, "floating teachers" without classrooms of their own, and sometimes even hall monitors without classrooms at all. Some of these teachers give up and resign. Others protest and are fired for insubordination.

Black principals are similarly treated. Few are fired outright, according to the Nashville-based race relations information center. Some are "kicked upstairs" into the central administrative offices where they become "assistant superintendents" or "Federal coordinators" without any clear delineation of responsibilities and without authority ("assistant to the superintendent in charge of light bulbs and erasers," one black educator says indignantly).

Some black principals are reduced a notch—from, say, high school to elementary school. Others are put back into the classroom. Some keep their title, but have a white "supervisory principal." Others go into college teaching, and some simply retire. Within 3 years the number of black principals has fallen from 620 to 170 in North Carolina, and from 250 to 40 in Alabama. Mississippi reportedly has lost more than 250 black principals within 2 years.

All of this is part of the hidden meaning of "progress" under the Nixon administration. Desegregated school systems—which hired black educators during the heyday of dual schools—now hypocritically regard them as unqualified to teach in traditionally all-white situations. They rarely question the competence of whites. Some of their schools are 95 percent black, and still presided over by white principals.

"There are going to be some black casualties—teachers, principals, etc.—as the single school system evolves," explains Florida's Gov. Reubin Askew. "Why? These black teachers and principals have always, in many instances, been relegated to jobs in a wholly inferior system. Many of them have never been qualified to teach and if they had been white they could not have taught. They were products of an inferior educational system beginning with elementary schools and often going all the way through college. That's no indictment of the black principal or teacher. It is an indictment of the system itself—one which was always separate but never equal. Traditionally, they were good enough, white people thought, to teach black children. Now I know that blacks don't like to be told that, but it's true."

"Hogwash!" is the reply of Governor Askew from Sam Ethridge, black assistant secretary for teacher rights of the National Education Association in Washington, D.C., and project coordinator for a 17-State task force survey of the displacement of black educators. Ethridge contends that black educators are fired, not because they are unqualified, but because they are black. He notes that, until recently, segregation forced many of them to leave the South and attend northern graduate schools, thus receiving training superior to that of their white counterparts.

Supporting Ethridge's contentions, the NAACP legal defense fund has criticized a recent Government proposal to make available $3.2 million to retrain black teachers in the South. LDF suggests that, rather than accept at face value statements that black teachers and principals are untrained, the Government should use the money to enforce the law. Currently representing dismissed black educators in 35 court cases, LDF has established the legal principle that if an all-black school is phased out its black staff cannot simply be fired.

While the fight continues to save black educators, white students are abandoning public schools and enrolling in one of the South's approximately 1,800 "segregation academies." The Southern Regional Council estimates that 450,000 to 500,000 students—slightly more than 5 percent of the South's school-age population—now attend nonpublic elementary and secondary schools. The NEA has found that public buses are frequently used to carry students to private schools, some of which are former public school buildings, now leased or sold to private interests. Textbooks and other school equipment bought with public money are sometimes loaned or given to private academies. At its 1970 session, the Louisiana State Legislature appropriated $10 million for paying private and parochial schoolteachers' salaries—a move later declared unconstitutional in court.

Meanwhile, the Internal Revenue Service has ruled that contributions to private schools which discriminate on the basis of race are not tax deductible. But the Southern Regional Council notes the impact of this declaration on segregation academies is questionable, pointing out:

> At first glance this new policy seemed a victory for civil rights advocates who had long argued for an end to indirect public subsidy, through the tax system, of private segregated schools organized deliberately to avoid public school desegregation. However, as the first favorable rulings were announced under the new policy, it became painfully clear that the IRS, in accepting "good faith" statements by the schools themselves as to whether they discriminate, was defeating its own stated policy.

Such compromises with racism characterize the Nixon administration. To date it has not implemented school desegregation guidelines laid down in April by the U.S. Supreme Court. In brief, the Court decided that Federal district judges and school boards may (1) order busing, (2) establish racial quotas, (3) order school pairing or (4) gerrymander school districts to undo segregated systems established by law. Coming out of court cases in Charlotte, N.C., Mobile, Ala., and Athens, Ga., these guidelines undercut the neighborhood school concept vigorously championed by President Nixon. Hence, the legal initiative has been left to such citizen activists as the NAACP legal defense fund which led the Charlotte and Mobile suits. The Supreme Court's April rulings should have a profound effect on the large urban areas of the South where the least amount of integration has occurred. In at least 49 southern cities—including Birmingham, Little Rock, Dallas, Houston, Atlanta, Tampa, Memphis, and Richmond—LDF plans a legal offensive for new integration programs. In about 20 other cities, similar cases are either pending or about to be introduced.

While LDF fights for school integration, the Congress of Racial Equality and other black nationalist organizations question whether integration—in every case—is the most practical or most desirable means of obtaining equal education for black youngsters. In a Supreme Court brief, filed in connection with the Charlotte school case, CORE argues that whether or not a given school is inferior or superior has nothing, as such, to do with whether or not it has an admixture of racial groups, but it has everything to do with who controls that school and in whose best interest it is controlled.

In other words, equal education implies more than blacks merely sharing equal physical space with whites in the same classroom, with the same teacher, or sharing the same principal. Equal education, CORE contends, further implies black opportunities equal to whites to structure curriculum, have equal access to all available resources and equal representation among school policymakers and managers. The record shows that integration as presently structured implies black children are inferior. Integration has been defined to mean it is beneficial only to black students. Whites allegedy gain little or nothing from the experience. Not only are they asked to give up much of their culture and identity, but as they are dispersed they lose many of the communal ties which traditionally have been the cornerstone of the black community. Clearly, an integrated setting can be as potentially damaging psychologically as a segregated setting. "The assumption that integration cures all the evils of segregation," CORE contends, "does not take into consideration what the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders affirmed—that is, the essentially racist character of American society." CORE insists desegregated schools in the South at this time generally do not constitute the sort of environment which can foster the healthy development of black children.

Hence, CORE calls for the setting up of racially determined school districts in the South corresponding to natural community lines. Thus, where one State school district formerly existed there would be two State school districts equal in rights, privileges, duties, obligations, authority, and power to each other and to any other district in the State. Within each "unitary" district so formed the residents would elect a school board empowered to handle public education funds, hire personnel and, in general set school policy. Students would be free to choose either school attendance in a majority black (and therefore black-controlled) or majority white district.

Some critics of CORE's plan dismiss it as naive and neosegregationist. "Most people object to it because they fear (and not without cause) that the white legislature and tax collectors will find a way to shortchange the new (black-controlled) districts," says NEA's Samuel Ethridge. Already, in fact, public school tax rates are often lowered after whites abandon the system—leaving the remaining black schools in a financial bind, guaranteed to produce failure.

Ethridge doubts (1) that blacks have the political power to bring CORE's plan into being and (2) that the courts will allow such a plan to be implemented in any of the Southern States. And so the problem persists. Under segregation, blacks are locked into a system over which they exercise no control, for which they have no responsibility and with which they are powerless to effect meaningful change. Under integration, the schools, the curricula, the policies are still white controlled and black youngsters are still crippled. No one wants segregation. But "integration"—as presently structured with the blessings of the Nixon administration—who needs it?

ON THE WAY TO SCHOOL—COMMUNITY CONTROL SOME OBSERVATIONS*

By Preston Wilcox

> There is not in the whole report a single word about *taxation without representation*. There is not a single protest about a public school system in which the public it serves has absolutely no voice, vote, or influence.
>
> W.E.B. Dubois in
> "Negro Education 1918" in
> *W.E.B. Dubois: A Reader*

PREFACE

By Preston Wilcox, February 29, 1970

The "integration-segregation" issue has turned out to be a series of "games white people play" to keep black people in their places.

- In New York City, 43.9 percent of all Negro pupils attend schools that are 95 to 100 percent black
- In Washington, D.C., the comparable figure is 89.2, in Baltimore 75.8; in Chicago 85.4 percent. (1)

When Senator Ribicoff proclaimed "the North is guilty of monumental hypocrisy," he was really making an appeal to the silent majority and not to the disenfranchised and uneducated blacks. (2) His appeal really was designed to stimulate the integration of black students into white racist schools rather than to end the control of black education by white racists. (3) Either he has un-

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Notes at end of article.

limited faith in the ability of up South hypocrites to become humanists overnight or he fails to recognize what they really are: authentic hypocrites. His failure to consider the issue of black control over their own schools was a failure to accord to blacks the status of human beings with potential in their own right. One other alternative: he was asking hypocrites to integrate their schools: in order to turn blacks against themselves.

> No person can make his fullest contribution to the total society with a feeling of compromise about who he is because he is a minority group member. (4)

The issue is clear. The growing concentration of blacks within the inner city has turned the "new comers" into a political threat. Chuck Stone observes:

> Thirty-nine percent of all black people are concentrated in the 10 largest cities in America. (5)

There are two ways to mute this growing power: to scatter black people geographically and to metropolitanize the urban complexes so that the suburban and urban white coalitions can be gerrymandered into a partisan (anti-black) political force. (6) The current white integrationist movement, then, is a move to retain white control over black education. It is not a move to educate blacks, effectively.

The challenge facing black communities across this Nation is to acquire the skills, knowledge, and ability to take control over their own schools. And this will not make Senator Stennis or Mississippi happy. Black-controlled schools would not be segregated as he would suggest for two reasons: they would not refuse to admit whites as white segregationists down South and up South have done with consummate skill—and they would not be controlled by whites as all segregated white and black schools are.

This statement should be perceived as being an educational tool to enable readers to distinguish a white-controlled school from a black and human school and to suggest that it not only calls for changes in who controls the schools but for changes in philosophy, attitudes, behavior, and perspectives.

NOTES

(1) "Crisis Over Schools Becomes National—Moving Into North" in U.S. News and World Report, February 23, 1970. Page 33.

(2) Ibid., page 32.

(3) Preston Wilcox, "Integration or Separatism, K.12," in Integrated Education, January–February 1970. Pages 23–33.

(4) Dan W. Dodson, "Toward Institutional Policy" in Rhetta Arter, ed. Between Two Bridges. New York University Center for Human Relations, 1956.

(5) Chuck Stone "Black Politics: Third Force, Third Party or Third-Class Influence" in The Black Scholar, 1:2, December 1969. Page 10.

(6) "Abolish Atlanta Gains in Georgia: Plan to Merge the City and Fulton County Pressed" in New York Times, November 9, 1969. Page 65.

III. THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS: CENTRALIZATION TO LOCAL CONTROL

Variable	From centralization	To local control
Principals	Agent of system	Agent of local community.
	Teacher control	
	Completes forms	Teacher development
		Understands function.
Teachers	Transmits curriculum	Develops curriculum.
	Advocates of system	Advocates of the students.
Students	Targets of system	Reason for the system's existence.
School and community delivery patterns.	Separate entities	Single entities.
Parents	Spectators and reactors	Participants and enactors.
	"Trouble-makers"	"Constituents."
Identity	We—they	Us.
	Their school	"Our" schools.
Accountability	To central board	To local community.
Goals	Change students	Change society and schools.
Values	White middle class	Humanistic and relevant.
	Double standards	Responsive and egalitarian.
	Suspend students	Educate students.
	Punish students to break spirit	Enable student not to require punishment.
	Prison-inmate	Person-to-person.

IV—Professionalism: Caste and/or mutual respect system:

Caste System	Mutual Respect
Tells	Listens
"I teach"	"We learn"
Ignores student advice	Incorporates student advice
Explains away disagreements	Weighs disagreements
Controls information	Shares information
Controls staff	Involves staff
Controls followers	Multiplies leaders
Accountable to system	Accountable to students

V—Alternative roles for local Advisory and/or Policymaking boards:

or

New Masters	Responsible Adults
Controls information	Shares information
Develops followers	Provides leadership opportunities
Centralizes local control	Decentralizes local control
Jobs as patronage	Jobs as parent-education vehicle
Oppressive	Nonoppressive
Executive as a tool	Executive as an educationist
Ingrained suspicions	Seeking to entrust
Demand deference	Demands respect
Need for specific answers	Need to know relevant questions
Power used to control	Power used to liberate
Impress "Outsiders"	Convince "Insiders"
Transmits information	Transmits information and skill

RESISTANCE TO COMMUNITY CONTROL IS . . .

OR

COMMUNITY CONTROL COMMENT: SOME OF THE WAYS THAT THOSE IN POWER TRY TO MAINTAIN THEIR POWER AND/OR CONFUSE THE ISSUE*

By Kenneth Haskins

INTRODUCTION

> Camus and Sartre have asked, "Can a man condemn himself?" Can whites, particularly liberal whites, condemn themselves? Can they stop blaming us and blame their own system?
>
> Stokely Carmichael,
> "What We Want" in
> N.Y. *Review of Books*,
> Vol. VIII, No. 5, Sept. 22, 1966, pp. 5–8.

The following statements and questions were developed by Kenneth Haskins, former principal of the Morgan Community School in Washington, D.C. out of his own experiences in the struggle for community control of schools.

Morgan, like Harlem's I.S. 201 and Ocean Hill-Brownsville in Brooklyn, was one of the first attempts at community control of schools, and although these statements reflect the school community control issue, they can be applied to all areas where the movement for community control is locking horns with the establishment—to services in the fields of health, welfare, public housing, etc.

Kenneth Haskins has explored this issue at the barricades as few have had the opportunity to do. To those who have engaged in the same battle—parents, teachers, students, and "community people" what follows will be understood immediately as ironic, humorous truths.

To those readers on "the other side"—this is how you sound to us—and when we mirror your words back to you, we hope that you will understand them for what they really are—resistance tactics couched in words of "concern."

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Community Control.—". . that condition which members of the Black community will have developed when we (the Black community) have psychological, cultural, political, economic, and social control over those institutions and factors which effect and direct, overtly and covertly, our (Black's) everyday lives and expressions."

Staff Relations: New Urban
League of Greater Boston,
Boston: New Urban League of
Greater Boston, Sept. 27, 1968,
3 pp.

RESISTANCE TO COMMUNITY CONTROL IS:

Asking.—"What happens to the children when they leave this ideal situation?"
Asking.—"This is only one situation—can it be duplicated?"
Saying.—"I think that this (the school) depends mainly on you (the principal) . . . how can we produce others?"
Saying.—"This school is really built around a personality."
Saying.—"You really can't have a good school unless you have a good principal." (See all of the above re: how can you duplicate it?)
Saying.—"We will not respond to pressure!" (When a large number shows up.)
Saying.—"If the community really wanted it there would be more of you here." (When a small number shows up.)
Asking.—"Do you really think that the parents can run the school and make decisions on such things as hiring and curriculum?"
Asking.—"But isn't community control against integration?"
Saying.—"Community control is going back to segregation."
Saying.—"I'm not so much against your group having community control . . . but aren't you afraid that if you get it that some John Birchers will want the same thing in their communities?"
Saying.—"I don't mind you people being in control of your own schools—but how will you prevent the Black militants from taking over?"
Suggesting.—
Partnership with industry.
Partnership with labor.
Partnership with teachers.
Partnership with universities.
Partnership with business.
Partnership with government.
Ignoring.—The venture sullenly after it starts, that is "You wanted to be left alone." (This is done while keeping from you what is your due.)
Open Sabotage.—

This occurs after, to the surprise of the establishment, you begin to have the success that you knew you could have. This is done by:
Not sending teachers who want to come to the community's school.
Transferring out very quickly those who want to leave.
Losing supply and repair requests.
Blowing up complaints and minimizing praises.
Seduction—"all you have to do is get to know the right people down here and you will have no trouble."
Threats to people who want to come—signifying that someday they may need to come back into the system; or just, "Why do you want to go there?"

The Inability.—Of the powers-that-be to understand our definition of either "community" or/"control" or "community control."
Asking.—"Is the Board representative?"
Saying.—
"You are an experimental school district."
"You are a model school district."
"You are a sub-system."
"You are decentralized."
Confusing.—The term "our community" with the term, "the community."
Giving.—You permission when you have not asked for it!
Asking.—Continually that you comply with all rules, forms, regulations, etc. of the larger system. (They try to act as if this is unimportant; it is a way, however, of symbolically retaining control.)

Saying.—"We don't have the power ourselves * * * we couldn't delegate it even if we wanted to * * * (usually from the Central Board to the Local Board.

NOTE: ('even if we wanted to.')

Saying.—

"The union won't let us do it."

"Congress won't let us do it."

"The State Education Department won't let us do it."

"The Principals' Association won't let us do it."

"It might be illegal!"

Saying.—

"It's not only the school in the ghetto that need improvement * * * all schools do * * * I'm paying high taxes and our schools aren't that good either. Many implications in that statement—some of them are * * *

Poor people in ghettos don't pay high taxes.

"How dare you complain when white people are suffering!"

You're entitled to only what you pay for from public services.

People in Black communities don't deserve good schools; not as good as "ours", anyway.

Asking.—"How can you operate if any parent can come in and tell any teacher what to do?"

Saying.—"Teachers have rights, too!"

Asking.—"What about tenure?" (You are supposed to honor "their" tenure.)

Liberals.—

Who put forth new programs which they will control * * * because they too are white and of course know best, or at least better. These are diversionary:

Mini-schools.
Voucher systems.
Integration.
Compensatory education.
Schools without walls.
Educational innovations—more effective schools.
Better diagnosis—cognition, perception, emotion, culture, etc.
Special methods for deprived children.
Parent education.
Kibbutz theory—("in one generation we can change the values of these children to something different than those of their parents.")

NOTE.—Community control does not necessarily reject any of the above when they are not posed as alternatives to community control. Community control speaks to who makes the decisions. A racist in a school without walls, a mini-school or an MES school can mess you up better because he has better facilities with which to mess you up!

Saying.—"There are a lot of hustlers in the black community just waiting to get their hands on that construction money and stuff, you know. * * *"

Saying.—"You're not just talking about changing from a white slavemaster to a black slavemaster are you? I don't see what good that would do * * * or what sense that would make."

Saying.—

"People in the suburbs don't really control their own schools; there is still a State and Federal Government, you know * * * you have to follow some rules." Shorter versions of this are:

"White parents don't have community control, either."

"You have to follow some rules."

Saying.—"There is dissension in this community." (They have found some people who do not wholly agree.)

Saying.—"There has been no evaluation of your school (or schools)." In the meantime, no other schools (those under central control) have been evaluated either.

Attempting.—To treat the local school board as a PTA, or at best, a delegation of enraged parents.

Redefining.—

Accountability to mean reading and math scores only, and only as measured by standardized tests.

Continued attempts to make the definitions.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF CHOICE

By Mario Fantini, Donald Harris, and Samuel Nash

We have entered an age of education and the American public knows it. The public realizes this not so much from an historical perspective, but from daily awareness of the centrality of education to economic, political, social, and personal survival. The term "survival" is particularly appropriate for describing the role of education in an advanced technological society which needs and wants universal education. To be denied quality universal education today is to be denied the means for societal survival. The environment of a postindustrial society literally compels those within its boundaries to perform in certain ways. Thus, the manpower needs of an automated service dominants economic market are quite different from those of an industrial-goods producing economic system of decades past—and education is manpower development (lest we forget the postsputnik emphasis on scientists and mathematicians). Consequently, to survive economically, the individual must attain higher levels of educational preparation—appropriate for the needs of the modern economy. Unless the individual is independently wealthy, therefore, he will have to achieve increasingly higher degrees of education in order to qualify for career entry and mobility in the economic marketplace. That is to say he will need education in order to earn a living, one of the basic survival needs.

The fact that business and industry have had to set up their own private educational system reinforces the importance of education while speaking also to the ineffectiveness of standard public education.

The case for political survival is also clear. The quality of education effects the role of citizen. Political socialization is an educational process. Participation is learned. We have heard for some time that democracy cannot work long without an educated citizenry. Unless an individual is fully aware of his rights in our political system, his chances of surviving are seriously jeopardized. Blacks, Chicanos, Indians, and other minorities are especially sensitive to the importance of education to their political survival. If schools produce illiterates among blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and Indians, as they have, then the quest for group economic and political power is crippled. Without access to this power, these minority groups cannot play in the political arena. Hence, when they exclaim that schools are engaged in a systematic conspiracy against them, when they use "educational genocide" to describe their frustration, it is all wrapped around the political survival needs of minority groups.

Then, of course, there is the effect of education on the individual himself—his phychological self—that is, his aspirations, his sense of inner worth, his potential. Inferior education can be devastating to individual growth. To a society that values human dignity, individual development becomes the central ideal toward which institutional functions are geared, for example, schools as societal institutions exist to serve human growth, not retard it.

Modern education should be tied to the needs of society, of groups, and of individuals, and to the encompassing growth and development of all of these. An obsolete educational institution handicaps all learners, teachers, administrators, communities, and the larger society. Thus, we are all disadvantaged.

When major social institutions like the public schools become dysfunctional today, the survival of American society itself is at stake. Survival of the individual, his group, his society, is a life and death affair. It is little wonder therefore, that the educational consumer (parent, student, taxpayer) has reached an unparalleled frustration level which manifests itself as retaliation behavior against the public schools—that is, loss of confidence, defeat of school bond issues, high absenteeism, boycotts, strikes, etc.

Commensurate with this increased level of consumer frustration is the macabre mood of current literary criticism of the public schools: "Death At An Early Age," "Our Children Are Dying," "The Classroom Disaster," "Murder In The Classroom."

It is clear that public schools as they are presently set up cannot meet the growing demands that are being thrust on them. In a pluralistic society, diversity is an important value that our educational institutions should express. Students are demanding that schools become relevant to them and help close the generation gap. Minority parents are demanding a quality of education that guarantees equality of educational performance. Business and industry are increasingly demanding an educational product who is prepared for a technological, service-oriented economy. We are asking the schools to deal with such societal problems as poverty, alienation, delinquency, drug addiction, pollution, and racism. The result is that while these demands are legitimate, the schools cannot now satisfy these demands. The consequences are loss of confidence, frustration, disconnection, and retaliation by the public. It is little wonder that President Nixon started his education message of March 3, 1970 with "American education is in urgent need of reform."

In our society when a major societal institution, such as the schools, is in need of basic reform, the public participates in the process. Participation is the heart of an open political system. Thus far, the push for increased participation has come from our urban centers, from those most apparently shortchanged by poor education, i.e., minorities: Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, etc.

Participation in big cities is taking the form of decentralization and community control. Participation under decentralization can mean that parents and other citizens share educational decisionmaking with professionals, at the local level and with central school authority. Participation under decentralization is limited for each citizen to voting representatives to a local school board. The locally elected board then is responsible for trying to represent the interests of those who voted for him. Decentralization can mean a federation of local school boards, each with a limited authority over part of the total school system.

Participation under community control shifts the bulk of authority to a local board elected by the community. In its extreme form a local subdistrict may actually secede from the rest of the school system to assume an independent status with the State department of education. Again, participation in direct decisionmaking for each citizen is limited to voting for a representative in the local election.

We need a process today in which each user of our public schools can make a decision concerning the type of education which makes the most sense for him. This means giving parents, teachers, students, and administrators a direct voice in educational decisionmaking. Parents, teachers, students, and school administrators—those closest to the learning front—have traditionally been those farthest from participation in educational decisionmaking. We are all familiar with the "top-down" flow of authority which characterize our educational institutions in which those furthest from the learner are making decisions about his nature and nurture.

The rise of the parties closest to the action—teachers, parents, students—during the 1960's has signaled the beginning of a new flow of decisionmaking from the bottom up.

However, the plurality of publics which now relate to the school in direct, vested-interest ways makes the school an arena for power politics. That is, since each public, teachers, parents, and students, wants the school to be responsive to its concerns and needs, it has had to organize politically in order to have its interests realized.

Competing for power in order to meet group needs can result, and indeed has resulted, in direct confrontation among the new publics. We are witnessing collision between parents and teachers, students and teachers. Ironically, parties who should be natural allies have been trapped into conflict because the current institutional arrangements literally compel this type of behavior. Parents have blamed teachers for the poor quality of education and for the high cost of schooling, teachers have blamed parents for being apathetic and unreasonable about holding teachers accountable without realizing that teachers themselves are constrained by the institution. The point is that the key publics are blaming each other and losing track of the real enemy—the outdated nature of the institution we call the school. The parties need to have access to a new form of participation during this period of school reform. We need a new participatory scheme if we are to avoid the group power game in which we are presently engaged. How can we enter a new state of participation in which the rights of the plurality of school publics are protected? Two movements which started at the tail end of the sixties offer us some signs for the seventies.

The first of these is the movement of alternative schools outside the bureaucratic public school system. These new schools have increased in number over the past few years as conditions in urban public schools continue to decline. With this effort, parents, teachers, and students have broken entirely with the traditional pattern of public education and created their own private schools. These new schools took various forms—prep—academic, mini, and so-called open or free schools (in contrast with the "closed" public schools).

The second movement is an attempt to reach the educational consumer directly through a tuition voucher which can be used to purchase superior education. This latter form attempts to generate needed change by altering the dominant structure of American education, that is, increasing the purchasing power of the educational consumer to purchase different forms of education in a type of free market enterprise.

Both these movements are extremely significant, not so much by what they offer as programs, but for what they reveal about the fundamental nature of the reform problem and the desperation state many of our educational options to conventional public schooling exist and can be vastly superior. However, this movement suffers from the fiscal constraints which victimize new schools. Most new schools have good ideas but find it difficult to stay alive financially without setting high tuitions (thereby denying many citizens access to this alternative).

The tuition voucher approach points out the need for providing the educational consumer with opportunities to make more educational choices.

Together they reveal a need for a new political-economic educational system—i.e., participatory-governance system on the one hand, a new supply and demand system on the other. In one sense, the alternative new schools movement has generated attention on the supply side of the new economic educational system and the tuition movement has stimulated development on the demand side.

What is needed is to bring these two developments—supply and demand—and individual decisionmaking into the context of public schools where the majority of students are enrolled. What we propose is a new system of public schools of choice. Before outlining our conception of public schools of choice, we should emphasize more fully the shortcoming of just dealing with the demand side of the educational supply and demand equation.

Attempts to change the realm of demand do not guarantee that the supply side will also change. In fact, what can happen is that the supply which exists can be further tightened, i.e., strengthen current alternatives with marginal increases in new alternatives (and these often reflecting a compromise with quality).

Those who have reviewed attempts to change the demand structure of other institutions—say health and higher education—have made the assessments that have important implications for us at this time. Medicaid, for example, is a voucher system which provides increased medical purchasing power for the citizen. This health system has not affected the supply system appreciably. The consumer has increased opportunity to purchase what exists. In the case of health services, therefore, some would agree that the real services for the consumer have not been ignored—the service problem being the one that is most crucial to patient welfare.

Another attempt to influence the demand market was the GI bill which provided opportunities for millions of returning servicemen to enter higher education. This demand structure connected many educational consumers with the existing supply of colleges and universities. Many of these colleges were not relevant to the varying needs of the adult populations being served. Of course, we are all familiar with the "fly-by-night" suppliers after a "fast buck" who provided mediocre and often times inferior services to the citizen.

The problem is not with the demand with the supply system. Public schools already have a built-in demand system—a voucher system if you will—through taxation. Moreover, increased numbers of parents and students are dissatisfied with the educational services being provided them i.e., with the supply system. The problem is to provide more alternatives for those dissatisfied educational customers who are demanding more choices and not to further increase the demand capability. As suggested earlier, increasing the demand capacity does not necessarily guarantee a renewed demand capacity.

On the other hand, creating a new supply system outside the public school system in the long run accomplishes little. In this case, the supply system—new educational options—exist outside the demand structure of the masses who need them and are requesting them most. Moreover, those leading the new school movement find themselves in continuous fiscal difficulty and must ultimately turn to public support.

The trick is to get a system of educational options with consumer choice to take place inside the public school system.

Public education in America has evolved a common and rather comprehensive set of educational objectives dealing with the full intellectual, emotional, and social growth of the learner. Thus far, however, America has relied on a public school system which is uniform and monolithic to achieve these objectives.

Given our diversity and the individual right of choice in our society, it is possible that the participation movement will lead us beyond decentralization and community control and toward public schools of choice, where parents, students, teachers, administrators, and other professionals will be able to select from among a variety of educational options.

It is extremely important to underscore once again the relationship between the process utilized for reform and democratic values. Our most basic value as an open political system is the centrality of the individual. Not only is the individual the center of our society, but it is through him that governments and institutions derive their purpose and power. Individuals, therefore, delegate decisionmaking responsibilities to their representatives but reserve for themselves the right to recall responsibility. Thus we have two legitimate conceptions of democratic participation—both derivitive of our belief in the individual. The first is direct participation of the individual in all matters of government affecting him. This old town meeting symbolizes this concept. Some political scientists call this classical democracy. But as society evolved and conditions became more complicated, the individual increasingly delegated this responsibility to others who were to represent him. This concept we call representative democracy. (Some political scientists call this elitist democracy.) While we have employed both concepts the latter form has dominated.

Using these two political concepts, then, we see how the individual deals with unresponsive institutions which no longer serve him. It will be recalled that when our Founding Fathers drafted the Declaration of Independence, they emphasized that when government no longer serves the interests of people, then the people may want to substitute another government for it. This fundamental principle of individual political responsibility can also carryover into his relationship with public institutions, such as the school. When schools, as major public institutions, no longer serve the interests of the community, then the people in that community have a right to participate in its transformation. This is what decentralization and community control are all about.

However, decentralization and community control are still representative forms of government.

While communities are closer to their representative under decentralization and community control, they are not yet into the classical form of demorcatic participation.

In diverse society, it is difficult for "representatives" to satisfy the concerns of each individual he represents. Today, education is of vital concern to every citizen. Without quality education, the individual's chances for survival and further development are considerably restricted, if not stunted altogether. When individual aspirations are affected, so are human emotions. It is virtually impossible to develop a uniform plan which satisfies everyone. Some will obviously feel victimized, believing that their rights are being sacrificed. Majority rule, while fair in some situations, is not fair in all situations. A society that values diversity must respect the rights of different groups.

Instead of a sector of the population, major or minor, trying to impose its views on the other, both should have opportunities to relate their interests provided these interests are congruent with the values of a free society (that is, one group could not advocate exclusivity).

Within this proportional rights framework, the right of the individual to full choice among alternatives needs to be pursued. Until we achieve a stage in which individual choice is actually implemented, maximum harmony between community and school is not likely to take place.

We have learned from our early experience with participation that the mood among the major parties of interest is tense. The lessons from our experiences with reform can be summarized briefly as follows:

Reform proposals:

1. Cannot be superimposed either from on high or by a few people who are trying to do something for or to others. Similiarly, reformers who try to force others to go their way are resisted.
2. Cannot advocate or imply exclusivity—racial, religious, or econmic.
3. Cannot significantly increase the perstudent cost of education. Educational reform efforts should make wiser use of existing money, not continuously need add-on money.

4. Cannot favor one group only. Proposals must provide something for everyone.

What would a participatory reform effort look like that satisfied the above criteria?

The heart of governance is individual decisionmaking. The heart of decisionmaking is choice. Being able to make decisions from among a variety of options seems to make the citizen important not only as decisionmaker, but as someone capable of selecting from diverse offerings. Stated somewhat differently, the art of governance in a free society rests with citizen decisionmaking. The more informed the citizen the more capable he is to make decisions. The more options he has, the more chance he has of making a selection which is self-satisfying.

Transferring this notion to schools, the citizen as consumer should be able to decide on the kind of school his child should attend or the kind of educational environment he would like his children to have. This type of decisionmaking would be school governance in its purest form. Making every parent the decisionmaker for his own family's education is a significant stage beyond parents electing representatives to decide for them the kind of education which makes the most sense for the majority in the locality. This is what we now have through our representative form of school governance, that is, electing local school boards. In any majority rule approach, significant numbers of citizens must accept majority rule in the kind of education their children receive. Therefore, diversity in education is severely restricted. Further, public schools then become social institutions which foster uniformity rather than diversity. Citizens who want options must turn to private schools if they can afford it. The private school option is cut off for many low-income citizens.

The trick is to get the public schools to respond to both diversity and to individual rights in school decisionmaking. However, in addition to governance, both substance and personnel are essential pillars which must be altered if genuine reform is to take place in American education. We, therefore, need to examine the implications of these two areas in a pattern which maximize choice for the consumer.

Maximizing choice affects both educational substance and personnel in various fundamental ways. A system of choice maximizes variation in both the substance and personnel of education. For example, consumers who select a school program based on a Summerhill model will carry important substantive differences from those who select a classical school. Choice does legitimize new programs each of which carried with it new curriculum and new personnel.

Certainly, professionals who are attracted to a Summerhill-like school would be different from those who prefer a classical school environment.

The point is that a public school system that maximized consumer choice legitimizes new as well as old educational approaches to common objectives. The new educational approach will be made operational by public consent. Moreover, educators, also, will be able to choose from among these educational alternatives as would students possibly enhancing their sense of professional satisfaction.

This choice model, therefore, tends to minimize conflict among the interest groups because each individual is making direct decisions in educational affairs. Also, as a supply and demand model, the choice system has a self-revitalizing capability. As the options prove successful, they will increase in popularity, be in demand, thereby increasing the flow of successful programs into the public schools generating a renewal process for public education.

Under the present system, new programs are introduced into the public schools largely through professional channels with parents, students, and teachers having little say. However, parents, students, and teachers can actually veto any new program especially when these are superimposed on them. Some programs, such as sex education, become controversial, especially if superimposed.

School systems are currently structured to present only one model or pattern of education to a student and his parents. If economic factors or religious beliefs preclude nonpublic schools as an alternative, the parent and student have no choice but to submit to the kind and quality of public education in their community. With the exception that one or two schools may be viewed as "better" or "worse" by parents and students (generally because of "better teachers" or because "more" graduates go to college or because the school is in a "good neighborhood"), the way materials are presented and "school work" should be done is essentially the same in all schools on the same level. It should be possible to develop within one school or cluster of schools within a neighborhood, district, or system several different models that would offer real choices to all those involved in the educative process.

Using a hypothetical school district that has seven or more elementary schools, public schools of choice might be structured in the following way:

School No. 1.—The concept and programs of the school are traditional. It is graded and emphasizes the learning of basic skills—reading, writing, numbers, et cetera, by cognition. The basic learning unit is the classroom and functions with one or two teachers instructing and directing students at their various learning tasks. Students are encouraged to adjust to the school and its operational style rather than vice versa. Students with recognized learning problems are referred to a variety of remedial and school support programs. The educational and fiscal policy for this school is determined entirely by the central board of education.

School No. 2.—This school is nontraditional and nongraded. In many ways it is very much like the British primary schools and Leicestershire system. There are lots of constructional and manipulative materials in each area where students work and learn. Most student activity is in the form of different specialized learning projects done individually and in small groups rather than all students doing the same thing at the same time. Many of the learning experiences and activities take place outside of the school building.

School No. 3.—This school emphasizes learning by the vocational processes—doing and experiencing. The school defines its role as diagnostic and prescriptive. When the learner's talents are identified, the school prescribes whatever experiences are necessary to develop and enhance them. This school encourages many styles of learning and teaching. Students may achieve equally through demonstration and manipulation of real objects as well as by verbal, written or abstractive performances. All activity is specifically related to the work world.

School No. 4.—This school is more technically oriented than the others in the district. It utilizes computers to help diagnose individual needs and abilities. Computer assisted instruction based on the diagnosis is subsequently provided both individually and in groups. The library is stocked with tape recording banks and "talking," "listening," and manipulative carrels that students can operate on their own. In addition, there are Nova-type video retrieval systems in which students and teachers can concentrate on specific problem areas. This school also has facilities to operate on closed circuit television.

School No. 5.—This school is a total community school. It operates on a 12- to 14-hour basis at least 6 days a week throughout the year. It provides educational and other services for adults as well as children. Late afternoon activities are provided for children of varying ages from the neighborhood and evening classes and activities are provided for adults. Services such as health, legal aid and employment are available within the school facility. Paraprofessionals or community teachers are used in every phase of the regular school program. This school is governed by community board which approves or hires the two chief administrators, one of whom is in charge of all other activities in the building. The school functions as a center for the educational needs of all people in the neighborhood and community.

School No. 6.—This school is in fact a Montessori school. Students move at their own pace and are largely self-directed. The learning areas are rich with materials and specialized learning instruments from which the students can select and choose as they wish. Although the teacher operates within a specific and defined methodology, they remain very much in the background guiding and facilitating student activities rather than directing them. Special emphasis is placed on the development of the five senses.

School No. 7.—The seventh is a multicultural school that has four or five ethnic groups equally represented in the student body. Students spend part of each day in racially heterogeneous learning groups. In another part of the day, all students and teachers of the same ethnic background meet together. In these classes they learn their own culture, language, customs, history, and heritage. Several times each week one ethnic group shares with the others some event or aspect of their cultural heritage that is important and educational. This school views diversity as a value. Its curriculum combines the effective cognizant domain and is humanistically oriented. Much time is spent on questions of identity, connectedness, powerlessness, and interpersonal relationships. The school is run by a policy board made up of equal numbers of parents and teachers and is only tangentially responsible to a central board of education.

Distinctive educational options can exist within any single neighborhood or regional public school. The principle of providing parents, teachers, and students with a choice from among varying educational alternatives is feasible at the individual school. In fact, this may be the most realistic and pervasive approach, at first. For example, in early childhood a single school might offer as options:

1. A Montessori program.
2. An established kindergarten program.
3. A British infant school program.
4. A Bereiter-Engleman program.

Again, parents, teachers, and students will have to "understand fully" each program and be free to choose from among them.

Some may ask whether a Nazi school or a school for blacks that advances the notion that all white people were blond-haired, blue-eyed devils, and pigs, could exist within the framework of a public system of choice. Plainly, no. Our concept speaks to openness; it values diversity; it is nonexclusive; it embraces human growth and development and is unswerving in its recognition of individual worth. Within these bounds, however, is an infinite spectrum of alternative possibilities in creating new educational and learning forms.

Although we have suggested several different ways in which schools might be structured under a public schools of choice system, it should be clear that there are many other possibilities. The flexibility of the concept lends itself to a whole range of options without forcing people to accept—they are attracted to the option. The choice educational system starts where the public school system and the clients are and develops from that point. For example, we have described above what could be developed within a school district. The same offerings, teaching styles, and learning environments could be presented within the same school facility. This would permit the bulk of parents and students in our hypothetical district to continue with the educational programs and activities just as they have been, but those who wanted to try different options could do so. There could be six or seven choices in the educational supply of options from which parents and students could choose.

Another application of the public schools of choice system could be implemented on the high school level in a moderately sized city.

Seven distinctive high school models could be integrated into the public system providing parents and students with choices about learning style, environment, and orientation that best met the individual needs of the learner and teacher. For example, there could be a standard or traditional high school; a university, experimental high school that is a learning center for students, teachers, and those who train teachers; a classical school that emphasized languages, learning, and rigid disciplines—Boys Latin in Boston is an example; a vocational-technical complex; a high school that emphasizes independent work, personal development and where students and teachers share a joint responsibility for the program; a high school (or student-run high school supplementary program) that in some way addresses itself to the special concerns of particular students, perhaps where black students could work out questions of identity, power, and self-determination on their own terms in their own style; and finally, a "high school without walls" concept, such as in Philadelphia, where students utilize the resources and institutions of the city and community as learning environments.

These alternatives, and others, are not unrealistic or significantly beyond the reach of a city and school system that is concerned with the quality of public education. Although many of these ideas have been tried in isolation, they have not been incorporated into a public education system. The rise of participation is leading us in this direction, when it does, we will have entered a new era of public education.

EDUCATION FOR BLACK HUMANISM: A WAY OF APPROACHING IT*

By Preston Wilcox

> If we react to white racism with a violent reaction, to me that is not black racism. If you come to put a rope around my neck and I hang you for it, to me that's not racism. My reaction is the reaction of a *human being*, reacting to defend himself and protect himself. This is what our people haven't done, and some of them, at least at the high academic level, don't want to. But most of us aren't at that level.
>
> —*Malcolm X at a Harvard Law School Forum, December 16, 1964*

THE ROLE OF THE BLACK REVOLUTIONARY INTELLECTUAL

It is worthy of observation that the intellectual power behind the educational revolution which is slowly penetrating the black community emanates from outside the traditional ivory-tower setting. Malcolm X's oratorical indictment of white America brought to public visibility the degree to which black Americans had been conditioned to oppress themselves of the mythical superiority of whites. (1) His public indictment of whites refurbished what Garvey had begun some years earlier. Frantz Fanon linked psychiatry with sociology as a means to reveal the oppressive nature of the relationship between the colonized native and the colonial settler. (2) Harold Cruse demonstrated with scholarly precision that the black-white conflict was cultural in form and not merely political in the fragmented and narrow sense. White hyphenated groups had substituted their values for those of the WASPs and had become antiblack oppressors also. (3) Eldridge Cleaver pulled back the covers of the integrated bedroom and revealed human interaction on one level, and mutual self-destruction on the other. (4) Martin Luther King, Jr., climbed to the mountaintop—only to be assassinated. He was too human to survive without the collective support of his black brothers.

Malcolm X's "moment of truth" occurred in a jail cell. (5) Frantz Fanon's writings surfaced after his death; he wrote about a revolution through which he lived. Harold Cruse's book turned a literal unknown into a nationally known writer. Martin Luther King's now-famous *Letter from a Birmingham Jail* moved his potential to contribute to the liberation of blacks to a higher plane. (6) Eldridge Cleaver, too, wrote from inside a jailhouse. These men held in common a desire to liberate the masses, not only themselves. What Malcolm X had to say about white racism and tricknology was matched by Martin Luther King's essays on white America's violence. Harold Cruse's excoriating attack on WASPisms was equaled by Eldridge Cleaver's analysis that America was organized to protect the white vagina. Frantz Fanon put it all together from afar. (7)

Of interest and perhaps not ironic is that white America viewed Malcolm X as being antiwhite; Martin Luther King as being violent; Harold Cruse as being envious; Eldridge Cleaver as an irreversible rapist; and Franz Fanon as a revolutionary. The peculiar ability of this Nation to assign to black men equal status as it relates to antisocial behavior and to deny them the accreditation of humanness has compelled an increasing number of black men to begin to define themselves on their own terms—*to rid themselves of the need to be defined in a positive sense by white America.*

Malcolm X's real message was that *one's right to be human is nonnegotiable.* Martin Luther King was engaged in a struggle to protect his *right to be nonviolent.* Harold Cruse's message was that if he was required to reject himself and to substitute the values of the oppressor for his own, he would choose to be *who he was himself.* Cleaver—a convicted rapist—knew too well that *the system produced rapists;* and, as Dick Gregory has commented, the goal of a humane society is to deal with those factors which create *the need for people to rape each other.* Fanon's "plunge-the-knife concept" required that the native commit a double murder in order to liberate himself, by killing the settler and his old self at the same time. He believed that one had to be reborn in order to liberate himself anew.

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*Dedicated to the Malcolm El Shabazz Community College, Chicago, Ill.

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On one level, the above-mentioned brothers might be called black *revolutionary* intellectuals since they taught as they acted, as they organized, and as they developed others—and seldom within the traditional classroom. The black community was *their* black university. Street corners, stadiums, churches, dance halls, storefronts, picket lines, the stage, bars, courtyards of jails—and even bedrooms—were their classrooms. The content of the curriculum was real life: the Birmingham bus strike, the Memphis strike, the March on Washington, the New York school integration struggle. Selma, Ala., the Freedom Rides, the *Huey Newton* case, the Harlem Renaissance, and the Algerian revolution made learning and doing inseparable; apprehension and comprehension indivisible; intellect and emotion one; and thought and action a single effort. For all of them the authentic role of the black teacher was that of *convincing black people of their essential educability, potential, and humanity.* Malcolm X and Martin Luther King had a peculiar love for their brothers: it was undying. Malcolm died when he did because he refused to have the audience searched as they entered the hall which was to become his tomb. Martin Luther King died while surrounded by his brothers, but a part of this mystique was that no black man could really be free on earth—unless he was willing to die for that in which he believed. (8)

Booker T. Washington, the first black man anointed into national prominence by white America, chose a system of enslavement over extinction. He failed to realize, as Malcolm X did, that one's philosophy of survival affected his attitude and his behavior—toward the world and himself. (9) Booker T. Washington must have felt that black people would be given freedom by appealing to the white conscience and by the subordination of their own black consciousness. Despite his contributions, his model of education was an exaggerated imitation of that of his oppressors. His students learned to line up when whites spoke—without being "too uppity." (10)

W. E. B. DuBois, an acknowledged black intellectual, never fully understood the impact of white institutional racism. Had he been able to do so, he would not have urged the full integration of black students into white racist institutions. My point is that he lacked the current level of comprehension: that authentic blackness is not the replica of whiteness. (11) Neither is it solely a reaction to white rejection. Rather it is a soul-searching, excruciatingly difficult attempt to undo 400 years of de-Africanization, dehumanization, and colonization—to reach deeply into the instinct and belief systems of black people in order to restore them to a self-defined level of *experienced* humanity, *figurative* Africanization, and *literal* collective liberation. Sister Edwina Chavers Johnson makes the same point in this fashion:

> The African descendants in America, having passed through three phases of education in America, i.e., de-Africanization, dehumanization, and (finally) an inferior-caste status, through application of self-determination and the establishment of a voluntary self-separated school system, can educate themselves. (12)

THE DESIGN FOR MISEDUCATION—VEILED

Sister Johnson's optimism as an African American, when placed beside the wish-fulfillment of the white oppressor, helps to push the issue of education for black humanism into perspective. When Miss Ophelia asked St. Claire in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* why he didn't free his enslaved persons, one of his responses was as follows:

> The capitalist and aristocrat of England cannot feel that as we do, because they do not mingle with the class they degrade as we do. They are in our houses, they are the associates of our children, and they form their minds faster than we can, for they are a race that children will always cling to and assimilate with. If Eva, now, was not more angel than ordinary, she would be ruined. We might as well allow the smallpox to run among them, and think our children would not take it, as to let them be uninstructed and vicious, and think our children will not be affected by that. Yet our laws positively and utterly forbid any efficient general

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> educational system, and they do it wisely, too; for just begin and thoroughly educate one generation, and the whole thing would be blown sky high. *If we did not give them liberty, they would take it.* (13)

A careful reading of St. Clare's response, Sister Johnson's analysis, and Jerry Farber's *Student As Nigger* suggests an essential agreement about:

1. The oppressive nature of WASP-oriented educational processes. The white radical student rebellions are a case in point.
2. The latent belief by blacks and even racist whites of the essential educability of blacks.
3. The white control of integrated education as merely a tool to avoid integration of the curriculum content and to redistribute control over curricular matters. A multicultural control over the discrete cultural aspects of the program itself. As resolved at the Third International Black Power Conference:

> Black persons working within white institutions, if (authentically) black, should be working for the best interests of the black community, to whom they are ultimately responsible. The point here is that the physical locale of the black man should have no relationship to his role or perception of himself as a black man. (14)

What black men fully understand, and what white men cannot allow themselves to believe, is that the myth of white supremacy remains a myth perpetrated to foster the privileges of white skin. Indeed, if white men were in fact "superior" to black men, and black men believed it, there would be no need for white institutional racism, white backlash, White Citizens' Councils, Minutemen, or a white-controlled police system, protecting the white people from black people even within the ghettos.

Had an authentic black man written William Whyte's Organization Man, he would have probably named it *The White Uncle Toms*, Daniel P. Moynihan's *The Negro Family* would have addressed itself to how white families maintain themselves economically within white enclaves surrounding the inner city by the exploitation of black men, their families, and their communities. He would have named his statement *The Vietnamization of Black Families*. A rational policeman would question the gambling on Wall Street in the way that he "questions" in order to bribe the local numbers runner. A nonracist health service would render abortion readily accessible within less-chance communities as it is within lily-white America. The sociologists who identify such role models as pimps, prostitutes, hustlers, and racketeers within less-chance communities would look for the same behavioral characteristics on Wall Street, in the State capitals, and in the Nation's Capital. The use of God to raise money regardless of the salvation of the donors has turned the Nation's religious institutions into corporate structures devoid of legitimate relationships to their original purposes. (15)

Motherhood has become a symbol for the propagation of wars, not peace. The vagina has become the world's most vaunted war machine. It is no accident that the sons of black mothers were the first to decide not to fight in Vietnam. It is no irony that authentic blacks are attempting to articulate and codify a nondestructive relationship between males and females—a relationship that assigns roles not on bedroom or athletic criteria but on the basis of the collective survival needs of black people. (Collective survival within the black world can never be achieved as long as institutionalized conflict and colonialism exist within male-female relationships.)

Recall the recent report by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, which dealt with the issue of racism while remaining silent on the issue of sex.(16) This occurred despite Gunnar Myrdal and Emory S. Bogardus' listing of sex as the number one discrimination in "rank order of discriminations" among a list of six items (sex, social equality, use of public facilities, political disfranchisement, discrimination by public servants, and economic exploitation). (17) The black man's rank order is just about parallel but inverse to that of the white man. (18)

Is it any wonder that the public schools are just getting around to sex education courses? The fact that such courses are directed more toward birth control than they are toward sexual liberation compounds the issue. A white-middle-

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class black differential as it relates to children born out of marriage is the tendency of white to reject the causal act and the resultant child; lower class blacks tend to accept the child and they reject only the causal act.(19) But the deeper question relates to why children born out of wedlock are labeled "illegitimate" and treated as though they were less human, through no fault of their own. They have a God-given right to be born—it seems—and after that God is usually dead as far as they are concerned.

There are many other issues which, when submitted to serious intellectual scrutiny by liberated minds, reveal the application of scientific colonialism by white America. (20) Arthur R. Jensen's recent report, which suggested that blacks, on the average, are genetically inferior to whites in IQ, is an example of the above. Jensen blithely dismissed the consequences of white institutional racism. WASP-oriented IQ tests, environmental deprivation, and the absence of the requisites for serious scientific study of the subject. That he had a need in 1969 to produce such evidence was much more consonant with white America's need to continue to justify its inhumane actions against black people. (21)

Finally, much of the testimony dealing with racism suggests that whites are versatile. They have the ability to benefit in economic terms from the reality of racism and at the same time, they are able to participate meaningfully in the salvation of black people! The same people who had "trained" black people into a system of enslavement (since the white man knew that black people were not natural-born enslaved persons) now want to *plan* their emancipation! (22) It was SNCC which first challenged this assumption:

> It must be offered that white people who desire change in this country should go where that problem [racism] is most manifest; the problem is not in the black community. The whites should go into white communities where whites have created power for the express [purpose] of denying blacks human dignity and self-determination. (23)

SNCC was offering whites an alternative: to become either a part of the problem *or* a part of the solution, but not both. One sees in this white do-gooder behavior a linking of capitalism and racism. Far too many whites—and black-skinned people—are "doing well by doing good"—exploiting by getting paid to keep blacks in their places. Those with black skins who start a "movement" or a militant action in order to get a job are in the same bag. The resultant underdevelopment of black people has been characterized by James Boggs as follows:

> (1) They [blacks] have been systematically excluded from supervisory, planning, and decisionmaking roles which could have given them practical experience and skills in organizing and planning and administration.
>
> (2) They have been systematically excluded from the higher education which would have given them the abstract and conceptual tools necessary for research and technological innovation at *this* stage of economic development, when productivity is more dependent on imagination, knowledge, and the concepts of systems, that is, on mental processes, than it is on manual labor. (24)

The inseparability of capitalism and racism has had educational consequences for black people, but as James Forman put it:

> Where do we begin? We have already started. We started the moment we were brought to this country. In fact, we started on the shores of Africa, for we have always resisted attempts to make us slaves and now we must resist attempts to make us capitalists. (25)

THE RESPONSE FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY

What does all this mean in educational terms? What are the implications for the education of black people? How is the redefining taking place?

One example is seen in the work of the National Association for African American Education. At its first meeting in June 1968 it engaged the following issues: higher education, blackening the curriculum, black educator, black student, school and black community, materials of instruction. When it met in August 1968 in St. Louis, it followed through on the above themes but in the context of nation building: internal relationships, external relationships, and the

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role of the NAAAE. (26) Unlike most organizations, the NAAAE does not exclude on the basis of ideology, social class, age, occupational status, and/or organizational affiliation. It defines the black educator as follows:

> Students, parents, community leaders, clergymen, businessmen, activists, moderates, college professors, teachers, educational administrators, and all those who are actively involved in the educational liberation and survival of black people. (27)

During the period of August 20 to August 24, 1969, the NAAAE conducted its first anniversary meeting in the form of a 5-day Black University. The theme was "The Fire This Time: New Black Perspectives, Creative Black Solutions." Stated in functional terms, an effort was undertaken to codify on a collective basis the intellectual and technical requisites to promote the physical and mental health of black people. Brother M. Lee Montgomery, Academic Dean Brother, for the August encounter, sketched out a paradigm containing the following four threads. (28)

Childhood replaces preschool education.
Youth replaces elementary education.
Young adult replaces secondary education.
Adult replaces higher education.

Education was discussed then, not only as it occurs traditionally within the classroom, but in terms of its uses as a liberating force for black people. The four age levels above were discussed as they relate to families, neighborhoods, and cities. In other words, black educators are required to define new methods for black manhood, womanhood, families, communities, and so forth.

The aim of the meeting was to engage the enrollees in a reasoned, planful, well-thought-out approach to that:

1. Builds black competence as it develops self-concept.
2. Develops operational unity internally even as it constructs models for meaningful collective action.
3. Employs education as a liberating force.
4. Produces a winning attitude as overwhelming odds are confronted.
5. Views struggle as being educational.
6. Engages the black community in living for that for which it is willing to die.
7. Constructs models for meaningful collective action.
8. Builds an authentic sense of nationhood. (29)

The key is a recognition that the education of black people must go on inside and outside of the classroom, that "credentials" are not a prerequisite to learn from and/or teach each other, and that the experience must encourage all black people to acquire the skills to humanize their own existence and to protect their rights to be who they *need* to be. Values, too, become important concerns—as my readers shall see.

The revolutionary aspects of a search for black humanism are clear. Brother Paul Henry has put it this way:

> The moral imperative involved is apparent. When a society is organized to destroy other cultures and it is also willing to destroy its own culture to save the system, this madness must be stopped. Therefore, it is the Afro-American who must oppose this dehumanizing policy simply because it is black people who are first to be annihilated. (30)

To fail to educate for black humanism is merely to gradualize the destruction of black people and to turn black people against each other. To fail to respond to this imperative is to educate blacks to participate in the destruction of their own identities and cultures—and to substitute the oppressors' values for their own.

Education for black humanism asserts that:

1. All black children are human and educable.
2. Blacks hold in common African descendancy and victimization by white institutional racism.
3. To subscribe to racism and capitalism is to participate in one's own destruction and that of his own people, the largest oppressed class in America.

Notes at end of article.

4. Education which effectively overlooks the aspirations and technical survival requirements of the black masses is irrelevant.

5. Education for blacks is essentially a retooling process: rehumanization, re-Africanization, and decolonialization; that is, authentic black men enjoy only one kind of freedom as a conceptual whole: a respect for native cultural differences, a resistance to all kinds of oppression, and recognition of one's right to defend his right to become who he wants to become as long as the expression of that right does not demand the oppression of others.

6. Black men have a right and an obligation to define themselves and the terms by which they will relate to others.

7. Education must become a process that educates for liberation and survival—nothing less.

Some Specifics

COOPERATIVE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS

A cardinal principle in the humanizing process is the humanization of the *socioeconomic relationship* among black people. As Fanon writes:

> If there is an inferiority complex, it is an outcome of a double process:
>
> Primarily economic;
>
> Subsequently, the internationalization—or, better, the epidermalization—of this inferiority. (31)

Early in their lives black people must be *conditioned*, yes, conditioned, to relate to each other on a *cooperative economic shared-decisionmaking basis.* Instead of savings bank clubs wherein students save individually—and become embryonic capitalists who learn how to postpone their gratifications—they must be helped to save jointly in credit unions as a means to begin to deal with their day-to-day problems collectively.

REPARATIONS—ECONOMIC CONTACT WITH WHITE AMERICA

The reality of white institutionalized racism strongly suggests that white philanthropy—the control of recipients via gift giving—should be politicalized into a form of black restitution: The total control of such funds when obtained by black people. James Forman's thesis is based on this premise: White philanthropy developed on the backs of black men must be replaced by a new socioeconomic contrast between blacks and white. (32) Booker T. Washington established the first one. He agreed to train black people into menial roles as the price of benefiting from white philanthropy. The black bourgeoisie chose social integration and entrepreneurism, with a small *e*, as a price for social integration. Authentic black people are choosing to control, define, and manage their own socioeconomic development through the use of reparations—not white philanthropy. They are asking for justice in payment for their slave labors, not noblesse oblige. They are choosing to compete with white America in building a humane system rather than to compete for white patronage.

Black students should learn early that the public welfare system was established to contain the have-nots who subscribe to and are the victims of capitalism. Black students are entitled to the accrued benefits in terms of interest from the original pledge of 40 acres and a mule. It is their earned and documented right; it is not charity.

SELF-CONCEPT

The fact of life for black students is that they receive a thousand daily encounters which suggest to them that they are, in fact, inferior to whites. Education of black students must convince them as they are being educated of their essential worth despite their residence within a white racist society. Authentic black students should be evaluated on the basis by which they accept themselves; view their skin color as being a permanent condition linked to a rich cultural heritage, and perceive white defined integration as Brother Joseph Pentecoste notes:

> Integration as a theory is basically a willingness to give up one's own attributes and lose racial self-identity by merging with the dominant group. (33)

Notes at end of article.

Importantly, the economic aspects of integration should also be understood. The tendency to establish lily-white suburbs and golden ghettos at the expense of the black poor is the point being made.

A black person with a healthy self-concept values integration with other black people socially and economically, establishes a reparations contract with the white system, and functions black whether within the white or the black world. A black man within a white capitalistic institution is engaged in efforts to redistribute the flow of wealth into black-controlled cooperative enterprises.

PLURALISTIC DECISIONMAKING

Black students who are helped to understand the reality of racism will also come to understand the requirement to identify those decisions which cannot be made about their lives by anyone—parents, teachers, employers, police, etc.—outside of themselves. This is particularly the case in the instance of white racists or the institutions that they operate. Black people must acquire the internal insights and ability to accredit their own actions; to ordain themselves, to certify their own humanity; to liberate themselves from a need to blindly comply with rules set outside of themselves.

Persons who respect black people will not want to make decisions about their lives. Rather they will want to transmit the skills and knowledge to them, to enable them to make decisions about their own lives. One's humanity, similarly, cannot be determined by someone else; its existence can only be confirmed outside of oneself.

SELF-LIBERATION

Ultimately the education of black people must free them from psychological dependence on others: It must teach them to think and act on their own. This ability does not rest solely on intellectual talents but on one's ability to rid himself of a need to be controlled by those who have power over him. One's ability, then, to think for oneself derives from several aspects:

1. Resolution of his parental relationships, i.e., getting his mother off his mind.
2. Resolution of his relationships with the opposite sex, i.e., male strength and feminine assets should become liberating instruments rather than weapons.
3. Resolution of his attitude toward whites, i.e., ridding himself of a need to be equal to whites but developing a desire to be "equal to the occasion."
4. Resolution of his materialistic needs, i.e., liberating himself from an ability to be controlled by someone else's purse.
5. Resolution of his religious hangups, i.e., freeing himself from the need to be saved by first finding his own salvation within himself.

A REORDERING OF VALUES

Education should provide students with an opportunity to select, design, and articulate their own values and to discern their impact on their behavior and attitudes—and relationships with others. In an earlier paper, I identified the following values which require reexamination and ordering: (34)

1. Black people must forget their *isolation* from white people and deal with their *alienation* from black people.
2. Black people must replace their *need to belong* with a sense of *functional marginality* as it relates to their membership in this society.
3. An effort must be made to distinguish *needs* from *wants;* the economic consequences are crucial.
4. Peer and mutual relationships across age, class, and sex lines should come to be valued more than superordinate and/or subordinate relationships.

Brother Bob Rhodes has posed this question with great clarity. He stated:

> We must create a new value system and determine:
> 1. How to create value;
> 2. How to allocate value; and
> 3. Upon what criterion do you create values and allocate values?

When one combines all of these specifics—cooperative economic relationships, reparations, self-concept, pluralistic decisionmaking, self-liberation, and a re-

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Notes at end of article.

ordering of values—into a conceptual whole, one finds that as the student learns he alters his relationship to the teacher, his family, his community, and to the society in which he lives. Importantly, he solves problems as he learns problem-solving. He no longer separates thought from action. He no longer submits himself to be "fitted in." He learns to acquire the skills to force society to include him *on his own terms!*

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SOCIAL SCIENCE AND EDUCATION FOR A BLACK IDENTITY

By Barbara A. Sizemore

Like other excluded groups, black people in the United States of America struggle for political, economic and cultural equality. This struggle has not yet delivered the desired fruits because blacks have internalized the dysfunctional white value system. Additionally, the set of knowledge necessary for the construction of a new value system is absent. The producers of new sets of knowledge are the scientists. The purveyors of those sets are the teachers who use the schools for dissemination and distribution. Teachers, then become the prime agents for training blacks to have the same prejudices and negative attitudes toward blacks that whites have,[1] and, teachers learn their content and methods from the social scientists who create the educational models used to develop self-concept, identity and self-image.

Recently, a great awakening occurred. It has been described as a new-found pride in blackness and the African heritage. This awakening has spurred a search for a new set of values and a lost identity,[2] and has produced drives for enculturation instead of acculturation, for liberation rather than integration and for ethnic preservation not ethnic assimilation. The problem is how to be black in a universe which denies blacks humanity. What is the black identity in such a hostile environment?

These questions indicate a need for scientific research on the hostility of the environment. Yet, social science has dealt inadequately with this enigma. This paper will attempt to discuss the problems of social science research and a new theoretical framework; to define value; to review several studies which promote error; to define the concepts necessary for educating black and minority group people; and, finally, to make some observations concerning that education.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH—PROBLEMS AND THEORY

Social scientists are frequently accused of a collective bias toward western European civilization and the white race, thereby invalidating the so-called objectivity of social science research. Blacks show an unwillingness to accept the findings of these scholars and the solution emanating therefrom.[3] Why does the black man feel that social science has failed him?

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[1] Henry A. Banks, "Black Consciousness: A Student Survey," The Black Scholar, September 1970, p. 44.

[2] Imamu Ameer Baraka, "A Black Value System," The Black Scholar, November 1969, pp. 54–60.

First science has two main jobs according to Homans: discovery and explanation. Discovery is the job of stating and testing more or less general relationships between properties of nature, and explanation is the process of showing that the finding follows as a logical conclusion, as a deduction, from one or more general propositions under specified given conditions. This relationship, then, provides a theory. Repeatedly, Homans argues that social science is in trouble where explanations are concerned.[4]

Commenting that nonoperating definitions and orienting statements add to the confusion, he describes the former as nontestable variables and the latter as statements which fail to predict and explain, specifying only that something will occur but not what.[5] Value, culture and identity are nonoperating definitions which figure largely in orienting statements. Their necessity is one of the great problems of social science. But, as Merton and Homans both indicate, such statements are necessary "approaches" even though they are not "arrivals." Homans' plea is to deliver:

> * * * but sooner or later a science must actually stick its neck out and say something definite. If there is a change in *x*, what sort of change will occur in *y*? Don't just tell me there will be some change. Tell me what change. Stand and deliver![6]

Homans' advice is to reduce the study of man to the individual through the adoption of psychological propositions in a single science utilizing the determinist philosophy. Deploring the lack of honesty in social science, he begs for the admission that "our actual explanations are our actual theories."[7]

While discouraging an adoption of determinism, Yankelovich and Barrett tend to agree with the single science of human nature idea.[8] Specifically interested in psychoanalysis, their criticism of research is threefold. First, the methodology and philosophy of the physical sciences are not appropriate for the study of human nature; second, further pursuit of the nature-nuture controversy in its present form is useless; and third, the metatheory is not broad enough to encompass a study of man.

Pointing out the debate between Sartre and Levi-Strauss, Yankelovich and Barrett discuss the futility of continuing this controvery as long as the premises on which it is based are invalid. Those premises are: (*a*) a conception of freedom which does not take human limits into account, and (*b*) a conception of nature which reduces its richness and complexity to a mere energy-dissipating mechanism.[9]

They propose a man-in-his-enviroment approach based on the doctrine of synergism, which takes epigenesis into account. They describe synergism as the process whereby every trait of personality, every meaningful human relationship, every lasting social innovation, introduce a structure that has never existed before. Through synergism, new structures appear and all "explanations" of such structures must describe this new element.[10] Epigenesis is the process of the development of structures which grow when phylogenetic factors interact with critical individual experience at specific stages in the life cycle. They use Erikson's definition of the concept.[11]

Erik H. Erikson is well-known for his concept of the epigenetic development of each individual in eight stages: (1) basic trust versus mistrust; (2) autonomy versus shame; (3) initiative versus guilt; (4) industry versus inferiority; (5) identity versus identity confusion; (6) intimacy versus isolation; (7) generativity versus stagnation; and (8) integrity versus despair. Erikson's epigenetic principle is derived from the growth of organisms and states that anything that grows has a ground plan, and that out of this ground plan the parts arise, each part having its time of special ascendancy, until all parts have arisen to form a functioning whole.[12]

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[3] This statement refers to the resistance against the research of Banfield, Jensen, Moynihan discussed later in this chapter.

[4] George C. Homans, The Nature of Social Science (N.Y.: Harbinger Books, Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967), pp. 3–23.

[5] Homans, op. cit., pp. 10–18.

[6] Ibid., p. 18.

[7] Ibid., pp. 106–107.

[8] Daniel Yankelovich and William Barrett, Ego and Instinct (N.Y.: Random House, 1970), pp. 177–448.

[9] Yankelovich and Barrett, op. cit., p. 307.

[10] Ibid., p. 329.

[11] Ibid., pp. 434–435. See also Erik H. Erikson, Identity Youth and Crisis (N.Y.: W. Norton Co., 1968) p. 92.

Accordingly, Yankelovich and Barrett describe explanation as a special kind of description showing a tightly disciplined selectivity, presenting a case or a theory at several levels of generality at the same time, and including purpose as well as process. It would no longer be causal explanation, mimicking the physical sciences. In fact, there may be even an element of indeterminacy in human experience, and "predicting the path of a bullet in space is not the same as predicting the aftermath of a human tragedy that the bullet brings about." Also, objects, defined narrowly, have only a mechanical aspect while human experience has both a mechanical and a synergistic aspect; and, human experience requires another kind of explanation. Yankelovich and Barrett hold that "psychology as a science should be based on a theory that will not be undermined if some margin of indeterminism figures in the picture." [13]

They freely admit "that the precise details of change over a long period of time in an individual or group grow ever more difficult to predict as synergistic possibilities increase." Furthermore, the development of new structures is greatly affected by the presence or absence of specific individual experiences at the appropriate time in a given environment.[14] This frame of reference, synergism combined with epigenesis, may afford more opportunities to study the human condition of western civilization and its derivatives than present social science theories do.

Yet, there exists another problem to plague social science. The research done by Rosenthal and Jacobsen revealed the effect of the expectations of experimenters on their findings. Rosenthal and Jacobsen called this the self-fulfilling prophecy. In the reports of the experimenters, themselves, those who had been led to expect better performance from their rats viewed their animals as brighter, more pleasant, and more likeable. They reported more relaxation in their contacts with the animals and described their behavior toward them as more pleasant, friendly, enthusiastic, and less talkative. They also stated that they handled their rats more and also more gently than did the experimenters expecting poor performance.[15] Rosenthal and Jacobsen seem to show that the researcher himself is important to the outcome of the research.

Moreover, their findings seem to apply to Yankelovich and Barrett's scholarly activity; for, in spite of their new theory which provides them with a view of man-in-his-environment, takes into account evolution and culture, admits the incongruity of determinism versus freedom, aspires toward a theory of human nature, Yankelovich and Barrett both conclude that the values of the Protestant ethic are worthy because they have built a great civilization.[16] Excluded from this conclusion are the facts that the exalted virtues of the Protestant ethic, the primacy of impulse control over expressiveness, the virtue of husbanding one's resources prudently for the future, and the high value of work and calculation, produced a comeptitive economic model which necessitated the rape and murder of the Indian for his land and the creation of the most brutal form of slavery known to man in order to capitalize it. So the experimenter's value system determines his findings, and social science must design a control for this effect.

THE PROBLEM OF VALUES

Wheelis suggests a conceptualization of value which offers the opportunity to examine alternate sets of values at the same time. He explains that there are institutional values and instrumental values. Institutional values are generally regarded as more important than instrumental values. He says:

> The distinction is invidious if it is taken to mean that institutional values, are, by their nature, higher. Nothing of this sort is here implied, and the distinction is empirical: any value which organizes, directs, and integrates other values is, in respect to those other values, higher.[17]

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[12] Erikson, op. cit., p. 93.
[13] Yankelovich and Barrett, op. cit., p. 334.
[14] Yankelovich and Barrett, op. cit., p. 394–413.
[15] Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobsen, Pygmalion in the Classroom (N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 38.
[16] Yankelovich and Barrett, op. cit., p. 461.
[17] Allen Wheelis. The Quest for Identity (N.Y.: W. W. Norton & Co., 1958), p. 182.

Looking at American values as such may extend a way to reconciliate the black observations with the white. Whites feel that the American Creed and the ideals therein, the Protestant ethic and the Judeo-Christian ethos are highly valued and that the race problem in this country is caused by the moral conflict engendered by their violation. Blacks feel that white supremacy, European superiority, male superiority, and the superiority of people with money are highly valued and the race problem in this country is caused by the white rage incited by their rejection. It would seem, then, that there are two sets of values. Could one be institutional and the other instrumental? If so, which one organizes, directs, and integrates the other?

Instrumental values, are derived from tool-using, observation, and experimentation. They are temporal, matter-of-fact, and secular. According to this definition, equality, liberty, fraternity, and justice would be instrumental values. White supremacy, European superiority, male superiority, and the superiority of people with money would be the institutional values. Every institution supports these values in practice and they are defended by force. Wheelis observes the following:

> Institutional values derive from the activities associated with myth, mores, and status. The choice involved purports to be final. Such values do not refer to, but transcend, the evidence at hand. They claim absolute status and immunity to change, but are, in fact, relative to the culture that supports them: Christian sacraments are without validity in India, and suttee has achieved no validity in the Western World. The final authority of such values is force.[18]

On the other hand, instrumental values do not transcend the evidence at hand, but derive from progressively refined attention to such evidence. They possess transcultural validity.

> They are, however, relative to the state of empirical knowledge at any given time, and change as that knowledge is enlarged. The final authority of such values is reason.[19]

The confusion in interpretation is derived from observations.

It would appear that equality would be as good for a black man as it is for a white man, and it is. Yet, the concept of white superiority organizes this value so that the former transcends the reality of the latter. Consequently, there is a white view and a black view of the bridge. Berger and Luckmann call this a clash of symbolic universes. They say:

> The intrinsic problem becomes accentuated if deviant versions of the symbolic universe come to be shared by groups of "inhabitants." In that case, for reasons evident in the nature of objectivation, the deviant version congeals into a reality in its own right, which, by its existence within the society, challenges the reality status of the symbolic universe as originally constituted. The group that has objectivated this deviant reality becomes the carrier of an alternative definition of reality.[20]

The black alternative definition is more ascriptive than achievement oriented. In fact, human beings could be arranged on a continuum and each be given a place.

Those people possessing the institutional values would possess or strive for the instrumental values. Those not possessing the institutional values would not possess the instrumental values, and, possibly, not strive for them. Arranged on a continuum, the highest order human being would be the white man of European descent with money. See figure 1. The lowest order human being in the male universe is the black man with no money. The highest order human being in the female universe is the white woman with money, and the lowest order human being in the social order is the black woman with no money.

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[18] Wheelis, op. cit., p. 179.

[19] Wheelis, op. cit., p. 179.

[20] Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, The Social Construction of Reality (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1966), p. 98.

FIGURE 1. ASCRIBED POSITIONS ACCORDING TO VALUE OF HUMANS

Male superiority	White European superiority	Money	Points
+	+	+	3
+	+	−	2
+	−	+	2
+	−	−	1
−	+	+	2
−	+	−	1
−	−	+	1
−	−	−	0

Such information raises many questions. Which value is prime? What about age and religion? Will sex guarantee more participation, equality, liberty, or fraternity than race? Do the two points of the black man with money really equal the two points of the white man without money? Do black men marry white women because the black woman is despised by all other humans in the universe, him included? Why do people say the white man and the black woman are the two free people in the universe, when he is the most preferred and she is the most despised? All such questions could lead to hypotheses for future research.

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE OF ERROR

One function of social science has been to legitimate the values of the white European culture by producing for distribution and dissemination a body of knowledge supportive of a model which guarantees success to white male Europeans.[21] Although social science's goal is truth, it has largely contributed to error. Yankelovich and Barrett describe the dilemma in this way:

"If a scientific theory is a scheme of abstractions analogous in function to a map, then its truth (independently of its utility) lies in how well it depicts certain features of reality when reality's full concreteness and density can never be wholly captured by means of concepts, since abstractions, by definition exclude full concreteness." [22]

While western modes of knowing present clear and distinct abstractions, they obscure some aspects of reality.

Insight, understanding, empathy, intuition, prehension, and common sense are neglected.

"The main reason for their neglect is the difficulty of verifying intuitive knowledge by those "objective" methods which are the cornerstones of modern science. Forms of knowledge which do not lend themselves to verification by such methods are minimized or overlooked entirely." [23]

Glaser and Strauss press for theory which emerges from the data instead of wasting time and good men in attempts to fit a theory based on reified ideas of culture and social studies. This is one of few attempts at the invention and codification of new methods for verifying insights.[24]

Such pursuits, hopefully, will lead to the search for truth. Knowledge, so produced, would be the power to set men free from oppression. The power of knowledge to do so may be investigated with an anthropological formula introduced by Sol Tax.* According to this formula, the groups supported by the value system (men, white Europeans and the moneyed) are A groups (groups with power) and the groups deprived by the values (women, blacks, and non-whites, non-Europeans and the poor) are B groups (groups without power). A has power over B.

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[21] Barbara A. Sizemore and Kymara S. Chase, "I Dig Your Thing, But It Ain't in My Bag," Notre Dame Journal of Education, vol. 1, No. 3, fall 1970.

[22] Yankelovich and Barrett, op. cit., p. 339.

[23] Ibid., p. 341.

[24] Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, "The Discovery of Grounded Theory" (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1968), pp. 45–77.

*This formula was introduced by Sol Tax in exhibit 44, "The Freedom To Make Mistakes," in "Documentary History of the Fox Project," edited by Fred Gearing, Robert McNetting, and Lisa R. Peattie (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 245–250.

Power derives from control of the land and its resources. It, then, is the ability to influence the behavior of others and to make them do what they may not want to do. A universe-maintenance system must preserve the status quo to keep these groups in power. Berger and Luckmann argue that this is done through the control of knowledge. They explain it in this manner:

"Knowledge in this sense, is at the heart of the fundamental dialectic of society. It 'programs' the channels in which externalization produces an objective world. It objectifies this world through language and the cognitive apparatus based on language, that is, it orders it into objects to be apprehended as reality. It is internalized again as objectively valid truth in the course of socialization." [25]

If power groups decide what can be revealed and what can be hidden, A groups create reality for B groups and B groups hold inaccurate conceptual maps of reality.

Yankelovich and Barrett, once more comparing maps and theories say that both may be (*a*) useless and false, (*b*) useless and true, (*c*) useful and false, and (*d*) useful and true.[26] Blacks feel that social science research about blacks has more often than not been useful and false for whites and useless and false for blacks. A short review of several studies will illustrate the use of conceptual truths or truths of abstraction as vehicles for the creation of inaccurate conceptual maps.

One well-known study which centers around the truth of abstractions and the method of vertification is Daniel P. Moynihan's study of "The Negro Family." [27] The abstraction, pathology, pervaded the report. Moynihan, influenced by Catholic welfare philosophy, the failure of the war on poverty community action programs, and his work with Nathan Glazer on the black family, assumed that the black society was in the process of deterioration at the heart of which was the black family. Furthermore, he assumed that that family was caught up in a tangle of pathology which perpetuated itself through a vicious cycle which could be broken when the distortions in the black family life were corrected.[28]

As evidence in his vertification process Moynihan presents the following data: (*a*) nearly a quarter of urban black marriages are dissolved; (*b*) nearly a quarter of black births are illegitimate; (*c*) nearly a quarter of black families are headed by females; and (*d*) the breakdown of the black family has led to a startling increase in welfare dependency. He buttresses these data with several observations which develop his argument. He says that the roots of the problems are to be found in slavery, the position of the black man, urbanization, poverty, unemployment, and inadequate wages. Moynihan sees the problems increasing because of the increase in the black population.

He also suggests that the structure of the black family life is weakened by the pathology of the matriarchy, the failure cycle of youth, crime rates, and youth delinquency, the low position of the black wage earner in the job market, and the effects of drug addiction. He concludes that "a national effort toward the problem of black Americans must be directed toward the question of family structure." The object should be to strengthen the black family so as to enable it to raise and support its members as do other families.

Moynihan could have as well reported the facts in a more positive light to demonstrate that black families have maintained a remarkable measure of stability despite the discrimination against blacks and females. It is significant, furthermore, that today black people can point to records which show that a majority of their marriages are stable, that three-fourths of their births are legitimate, and that males do head three-fourths of their families.[29] He could have mentioned that forced marriages and abortions in the black community are rare because of the economic instability and this fact might affect the disparity between legitimate and illegitimate births among blacks and whites.

The astonishing result is that Moynihan clearly assigns the responsibility for the existing problems in the black community to the deteriorating black family when the major factors he, himself, uncovers occur outside of the family structure. It is not within the power of the black community to combat on a significant scale the mass discrimination practiced against it in the areas of salary, occupation, and general employment. In order to insure fair and equal job opportunities for black Americans, discrimination in employment must be attacked on a national level with vigor. Consequently, Moynihan's report to blacks is useless and false.

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[25] Berger and Luckmann, op. cit., p. 62.

[26] Yankelovich and Barrett, op. cit., p. 338.

[27] Daniel P. Moynihan, "The Negro Family: A Case for National Action" (U.S. Department of Labor, 1965).

[28] This review of Moynihan's report was taken from a paper by Barbara J. Neverdon submitted in partial fulfillment of a course at Northeastern Illinois State College Center for Inner City Studies.

[29] For further emphasis of this point see "Black Families in White America," by Andrew Billingsley (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Spectrum Book, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968).

Another study conducted by Gunnar Myrdal used the abstraction, guilt. Myrdal, a Swedish social economist, imbued with the ideas of the Swedish welfare state which is noted for its socialistic liberality and where there is no noted race problem, used the Americans' Creed as an example of American ideals. He called the disparity between these ideals and American behavior the American dilemma.[30] A dilemma is a situation requiring a choice between equally undesirable alternatives or it is a difficult situation or perplexing problem. Myrdal does not make it clear which one of these definitions he uses. His central thesis is that a moral conflict exists in the hearts of Americans because the treatment of the Negro violates the Americans' Creed. He assumes that Americans accept blacks as human beings therefore worthy of equality, liberty, fraternity, justice, and the pursuit of happiness. This is his major problem.

Myrdal studies the victim but not the bullet which killed him, nor does he attend adequately to the value system of the culture which produced the murderer. The value of white superiority and the greatness of Western European civilization is buried in the doctrine of antiamalgamation wherein the primary valuation is racial purity.[31] But there is no entry in the index for European superiority.

Most seriously, Myrdal establishes no scale to measure his bias; friendliness to European civilization and white superiority. Nor does he provide a scale for his bias toward assimilation as a solution to the problems of black people who are oppressed. Additionally, he presents the principle of cumulation as caused which it is not.

Myrdal's principle of cumulation says: (a) as discrimination eases, things for blacks will get better; and (b) as discrimination elevates, things will get worse. Using cumulation Myrdal is free to postulate that blacks can do little to help themselves unless whites approve. In fact, he discourages the black initiative as do present day black integrationists[32] who infer that the moral conflict in the hearts of whites must effect change, and that blacks should wait for this alteration. In fact, Myrdal argues against protest and black nationalism.[33]

The principle of cumulation used in this study excludes synergism and epigenesis. It is not highly selective because Myrdal failed to reinforce his own criteria. His criteria are explicit and he says:

"The value premises should be selected by the criterion of relevance and significance to the culture under study. Alternative sets of value premises would be most appropriate. If for reasons of practicability only one set of values is utilized, it is the more important that the reservation is always kept conscious; that the practical conclusion—and, to an extent, the direction of research—have only hypothetical validity and that the selection of another set of value premises might change both."[34]

Obviously, Myrdal is operating on a hidden set of values which lead him to observe that accommodation is undoubtedly stronger than protest, "although drives for assimilation will generate protest, particularly in the South where the structure of caste is pervasive and unyielding," another myth. Today it is known that all America is the South. As Preston Wilcox puts it, there is "up South" and "down South."[35] Myrdal's study is in trouble where explanation is concerned, making it useless and false.

The study probably best known for its notoriety is the work of Arthur Jensen. His study is based on a nonoperating definition which he insists is testable. Quoted in Life he says:

"Intelligence, like electricity, is easier to measure than to define."[36]

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[30] Gunnar Myrdal, "An American Dilemma" (New York: Harper & Row, publishers, 1962).

[31] Ibid., pp. 53–57.

[32] See Ebony magazine, special issue, August 1970, "Which Way Black America?" for comments by leading blacks.

[33] Myrdal, op. cit., p. 749.

[34] Ibid., p. 1045.

[35] Preston Wilcox, "The Kids Will Decide," Ebony, August 1970, pp. 134–137.

[36] John Neary, "A Scientist's Variations on a Disturbing Racial Theme," Life, June 12, 1970, p. 580.

Jensen simply defines intelligence as whatever the I.Q. tests measure. Armed with data therefrom he sets out to show that blacks, as a population, score significantly lower on I.Q. tests than the white population and attributes these lower I.Q.'s to genetic heritage, not to discrimination, poor diet, bad living conditions or inferior schools. His study, published in the prestigious Harvard Educational Review, February, 1969, raised a furor in the black community because of its dehumanizing and derogatory implications. Some scientists indicated that Jensen had not proved his proposition in a scientifically acceptable way. Others defended the assertion that science could not begin to differentiate hereditary variations in intelligence from environmental until social conditions had been equal for both races for several generations.[37] Jensen deals with the old nature-nuture argument but without redefining the problem or developing a broad metatheory. Jensen's work is useless and false.

Edward C. Banfield, high priest of political science, reigning as the Henry Lee Shattuck professor of Urban Government at Harvard University and head of President Nixon's task force on Model Cities, has produced another book. The author does not claim this study as a work of social science. He describes it this way:

"Although I draw on work in economics, sociology, political science, psychology, history, planning, and other fields, this book is not really a work of social science. Rather, it is an attempt by a social scientist to think about the problems of the cities in the light of scholarly findings." [38]

In view of the problems of social science discussed above, and the review of works contributing to error, one would expect to have problems with Banfield's explanations and solutions.

His abstraction is the normal culture which, of course, is white Anglo-Saxon protestant with the prime acculturating variable, the postponement of gratification or future orientation. Banfield's central thesis is false when applied to blacks because the lower class black culture is future oriented. If one is good on earth and adheres to the rule of God, one will surely go to Glory! If this is not a manifestation of the postponement of gratification, what is?

Banfield has definite biases toward upper-middle class and middle class people. He states that they plan ahead for their children. He attributes this to their "future-orientation" not to their possession of resources. They are "self-respecting" he says, "self-confident, and self-sufficient." [39] The final affront is the assertion that upper class people abhor violence.[40] The fact that police are subsidized by the rich as are armies and wars in order that they may make money and keep it is certainly contradictory. The solutions emanating from Banfield's unscholarly analysis are disastrous. Some of them are incorporated in the new unconstitutional crime legislation for Washington, D.C.[41]

The full meaning of these solutions are not readily understood because Americans receive little instruction on capitalism; consequently, it is often misinterpreted. Based on a competitive model of contrient interdependence, capitalism will always have losers. Deutsch explains this situation:

". . . Contrient interdependence" is the condition in which individuals are so linked together that there is a negative correlation between their goal attainments. The degree of contrient interdependence between two individuals refers to the amount of negative correlation; it can vary in value from 0 to —1. In the limiting case, under complete contrient interdependence an individual can attain his goal if and only if the others with whom he is linked cannot attain their goals." [42]

Said another way, when A wins, B loses, and when B wins, A loses. Then a group which is winning strives to keep that position by excluding another group.

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[37] Walter F. Bodmer and Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, "Intelligence and Race," Scientific American, vol. 223, No. 4, October 1970, pp. 19–29.

[38] Edward C. Banfield, The Unheavenly City. (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1970). p. v.

[39] Banfield, op. cit., p. 49.

[40] Ibid.

[41] For information on Washington, D.C. crime legislation see Chicago Sun-Times, July 30, 1970, for full discussion.

[42] Morton Deutsch, "Cooperation and Trust: Some Theoretical Notes in Interpersonal Dynamics by Warren G. Bennis, Edgar H. Schein, David E. Berlew and Fred I. Steele (Homewood, Ill.: The Dorsey Press, 1964), p. 566.

Additionally, the economic paradigm of supply and demand operates in exactly this way. Parsons describes this adequately in his discussion of inclusion in the economy:

"There are demands for inclusion—both from the excluded group and from certain elements who are already "in" and there is a supply, which also operates on both sides of the exclusion line. Supply here refers, for the excluded groups, to their qualifications for a membership, a matter of their cultural and social structures."[43]

He makes it clear that the group already "in" determines the qualifications thereby controlling the supply. The qualifications demand acculturation and accommodation.

Parsons further describes the process in this matter to clarify the losers:

". . . On the side of the reciving community, supply consists in structural conditions which create institutionalized slots into which the newly received elements can fit, slots structured in accordance with the basic citizenship patterns of the developing community, not opportunities for crude exploitation by its members. Supply in this sense refers to a set of structural conditions on both sides of the "equation."[44]

Here Parsons' biases obstruct a clear description. His comments about "exploitations" are not compatible with "slots structured in accordance with the basic citizenship patterns of the developing community" nor are these comments congruent with contrient interdependence as discussed by Deutsch. For, the group already "in" determines not only the supply but the demand. It decides who will work, when and where.

The economic institutions provide the mechanism for confining blacks to the kind of participation in the competitive model wherein A can continue to win and B can continue to lose. With money the prime determinant of life and happiness, it is highly unlikely that A groups will willingly, without bloodshed, relinquish their rights to certain jobs, career opportunities, resources and capital.

Lastly, the philosophical premises of historians and anthropologists preserve the universe-maintenance system of the white European culture and its values. In history a temporalspatial arrangement of facts occurs on a white European time line into which all other facts must be squeezed. For example, a fact is that Columbus discovered America. The question asked is how could this be a fact since people were already here and occupying the country. Obviously, someone else discovered America. Who were they? White European values preclude a vigorous search for this answer.

In anthropology, the hard work L. S. B. Leakey has failed to receive the accolades that have been the rewards of other anthropologists. His diggings in Olduvai Gorge, Kenya, in East Africa have been largely self-financed and the academic community has begrudgingly acknowledged these findings. Should he prove that man began in Africa would white European values be diminished?"[45]

Social science serves to legitimate sets of knowledge for maintaining the status quo. The social scientists then design models for achieving conformity to the rules, regulations, laws, and standards which are necessary for that maintenance.

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND EDUCATION

Conformity is attained through institutionalization, legitimation, socialization, internalization, and identity. These processes occur through institutions. Most social scientists study institutions. A defining characteristic of an institution is a set of rules or norms. In fact, an institution can exist only when its rules are obeyed.[46] For black folk the school is the prime vehicle for institutionalization and socialization. Education is firmly entrenched in the social sciences.

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[43] Talcott Parsons, "Full Citizenship Rights for the Negro American," in The Negro American edited by Talcott Parsons and Kenneth B. Clark (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), pp. 721–722.

[44] Parsons, op. cit., pp. 721–722.

[45] L. S. B. Leakey, "White African" (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishers, 1966), pp. 207–816.

[46] Homans, op. cit., p. 50.

and the question of conformity is central. Jules Henry deplores this preoccupation here:

"All educational systems aim at a steady state—a condition in which, on the one hand, the system tirelessly corrects deviations from the prescriptions of the culture, while on the other hand, the corrections become part of the psycho-neurological equipment of the child and ultimately of the adult."[47]

Henry defines present education as socialization. It is used in the broadest sense meaning "the whole process by which a newborn infant becomes a member of society, a member of his particular society and an individual in his own right."[48] The concept of culture as a determinant of this process and of the norms and values to be perpetrated led to the "cultural deprivation" theories which were to account for the "deviants from the cultural prescriptions."

There is still controversy over the definition of culture. Valentine gives two definitions, the classical and the modern:

". . . that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

. . . the organization of experience shared by members of a community, including their standards for perceiving, predicting, judging, and acting."[49]

Valentine argues that social anthropologists treat the culture concept in ways that are different from the cultural method. They are generally more interested in social relations and social institutions rather than culture and use culture as a synonym for society.[50]

Education is the process which achieves conformity to the cultural values. Through it, explanations are developed about the social life of humans. Kluckholm describes the process:

"Social life among humans never occurs without a system of 'conventional understandings' that are transmitted more or less intact from generation to generation. Any individual is familiar with some of these, and they constitute a set of standards against which he judges himself. To the extent that he fails to conform he experiences discomfort, because the intimate conditioning of infancy and childhood put great pressure on him to internalize these norms and his unconscious tendency is to associate withdrawal of love and protection or active punishment with deviation."[51]

The school, then, becomes another place for the inculcation of the values or the large ended goal statements of the society.

These are derived from the culture which develops from the relationship of the people to the land and the knowledge they accrue about that relationship. Norms are the conventional standards, the rules, regulations, and the laws which a person must judge himself against, comply with and obey in order to uphold these values and maintain his group's relationship to the land. There is a system for internalizing the objective world for individual motivation to comply and obey and there is a system for objectifying reality for this internalization. Identity is the ultimate product of these processes. This is depicted in figure 2.

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[47] Jules Henry, "Is Education Possible? Are We Qualified to Enlighten Dissenters?" in "Public Controls for Non-Public Schools," edited by Donald A. Erickson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 100–102.

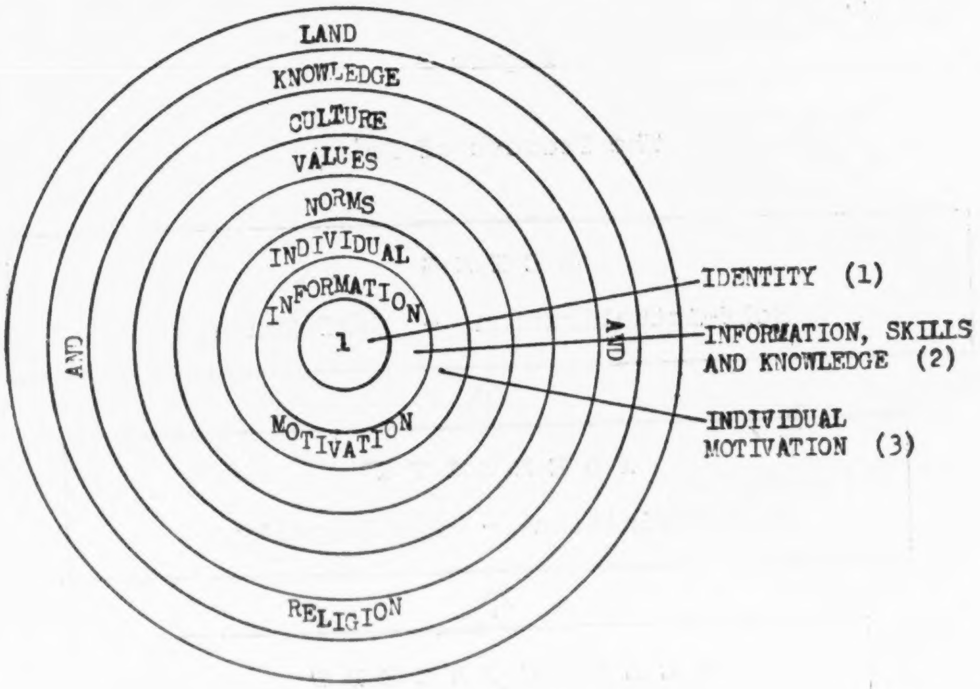
[48] John A. Clausen, "A Historical and Comparative View of Socialization Theory and Research," in "Socialization and Society," edited by John A. Clausen (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1968), p. 41.

[49] Charles A. Valentine, "Culture and Poverty" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 3.

[50] Ibid., p. 4.

[51] Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Concept of Culture," in Culture and Behavior, edited by Richard Kluckhohn (New York: the Free Press, 1962, p. 67.)

FIGURE 2



SYSTEM OF UNIVERSE MAINTENANCE

Wheelis posits that identity is based on values especially those which are at the top of the hierarchy of beliefs, faiths, and ideals which integrate and determine subordinate values.[52] He defines identity further as a coherent sense of self, elaborating in this manner:

"It depends upon the awareness that one's endeavors and one's life make sense, that they are meaningful in the context in which life is lived. It depends upon stable values, and upon the conviction that one's actions and values are harmoniously related. It is a sense of wholeness, of integration, of knowing what is right and what is wrong and of being able to choose." [53]

Erikson contributes more to the definition of identity.

The term is probably more closely associated with him than with any other social scientist. He discusses identity in terms of three definitions: (*a*) group identity which is the group's basic ways of organizing experience which is transmitted to the infant's early bodily experiences and, through them, to the beginnings of his ego; (*b*) the personal identity which is the perception of the selfsameness and continuity of one's existence in time and space and the perception of the fact that others recognize one's selfsameness and continuity; and (*c*) ego identity which is the awareness of the fact that there is a selfsameness and continuity to the ego's synthesizing methods, the style of one's individuality, and that this style coincides with the sameness and continuity of one's meaning for significant others in the immediate community. The progress of growth from group identity to ego identity occurs through epigenesis discussed earlier.[54]

Expressed still another way, the self is the total potentiality of one's beingness. This potential is bombarded by the culture. The new structure which emerges from this bombardment results in the development of personal relationships and is often labeled the personality. When the person is able to identify other than self and what is personal for self within the cultural climate, the self-concept is born. The self-concept is an aggregate of roles which gives power for the attainment of identity. During the selection of roles, the person defines his limits of freedom and uses the personality to express the self fully. The successful achievement of self-definition and ego-definition permits the actualization of the self (one's potential). The actualization of this potential is the self-image which encompasses everything of value to the individual. See figure 3.[54a]

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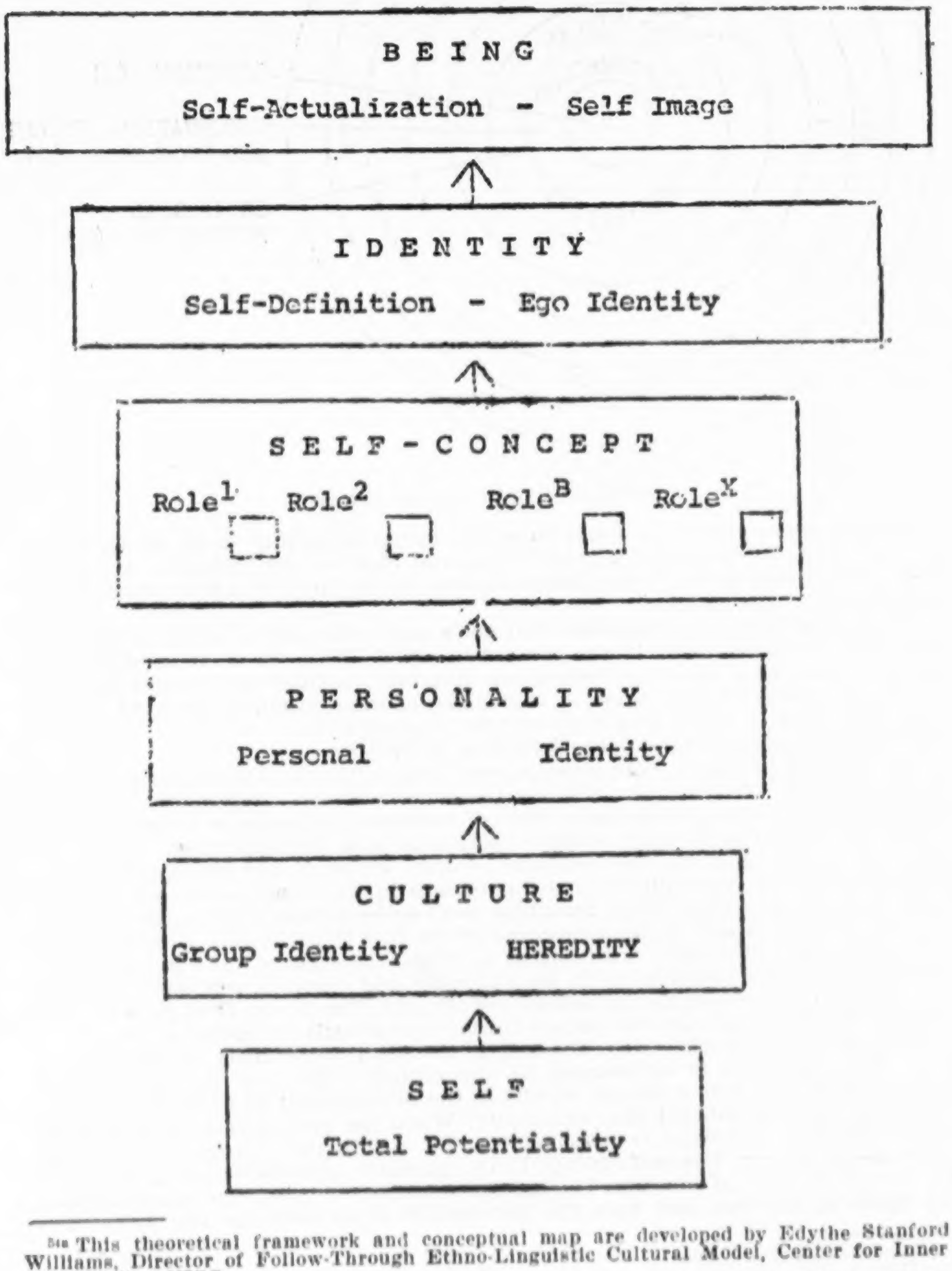
[52] Wheelis, op. cit., p. 200.
[53] Ibid., p. 19.
[54] Erikson, op. cit.

Figure 3

The Process of Being


BEING
Self-Actualization - Self Image
IDENTITY
Self-Definition - Ego Identity
SELF-CONCEPT
Role¹ Role² Roleᴮ Roleˣ
PERSONALITY
Personal Identity
CULTURE
Group Identity HEREDITY
SELF
Total Potentiality

[54a] This theoretical framework and conceptual map are developed by Edythe Stanford Williams, Director of Follow-Through Ethno-Linguistic Cultural Model, Center for Inner City Studies, NISC.

This conceptual map was developed by Edythe Stanford Williams, Director of Follow-Through Ethno-Linguistic Cultural Model, Center for Inner City Studies, Northeastern Illinois State College.

Society's role is to provide institutionalized settings for the experiences vital to the achievement of self-definition. Erikson argues that the adolescent needs support to help him to maintain powerful ego defenses against a growing intensity of impulse; to aline his most important conflict-free achievements with work opportunities; and to resynthesize childhood development in a way that accords with roles offered by the society.[55] Yankelovich and Barrett agree and argue persuasively that the self is a whole and must not be defined by reductionism, that that consciousness has to be restored to a more central role and that the individual does have some degree of control over his life although harshly limited.[56]

Education and a black identity

Today black people are defining themselves. Having discarded the meaningless name, Negro, they are crying, "I'm black and I'm proud." The demands for black literature and black history are attempts at restructuring the temporal-spatial arrangements of history to accommodate the presence and past of other pseudospecies, to remove the constraints on the dissemination and distribution of knowledge, and to permit the installation of the worth of blackness as a value in the black community.

Natural Afro hair styles, dashikis, "uhuru" and "umoja" are symbols of this value building effort. The idiom has been dignified by the new poets who are nation-building. Brother and sister are common terms of address after the Community of Islam. A new goal, liberation, has been substituted for integration or racial balance. The new black is saying he will be included, liberated, with full preservation of his ethnic and racial differences, and he will not hate himself or turn white to do so.

Blacks, now, are electing to reject the norms, one of the three routes prescribed by Goffman for stigmatized groups.[57] The three routes are: (*a*) To accept the norm of black inferiority which upholds the value of white superiority, but to refuse to be defined by it as an individual. Such a person would say that blacks are inferior, dirty, lazy—"But not me, I obey the rules, regulations and laws. I am properly motivated to conform and I have internalized all the information, skills and knowledge. I made mine." This person is acculturated and accommodates to the alien cultural values. Accumulation is the process of adopting the cultural traits or social patterns of a group other than one's own. (*b*) To reject the norm of black inferiority. Such a person would say, "black is beautiful. Black people have a proud and distinguished African heritage. I will not meet standards, norms, obey laws, rules and regulations which dehumanize my people. I will not internalize information, skills and knowledge which deprive me of my humanity, identity, and culture." Such a person is enculturated. He protests the culture from which alien values emanate. Enculturation is the process by which a person adapts to his own culture and assimilates its values.[58] (*c*) To pass and to cover. Such a person gives up or surrenders his right to be black and becomes white. This is assimilation. Education for the black identity must deal with enculturation processes.

Allison Davis and the Gardners looked at these processes in their study, "Deep South."[59] They revealed that the worthlessness of blackness and the fear of white reprisal were the cornerstones of the caste system. Black children imbued with these ideas are docile and submissive. They grow up to hate themselves and others like them. The models they imitate are white. Those who refuse to do so are punished by the larger society. Consequently, most blacks opt for acculturation and accommodation. It has always been harder to be black and proud and unafraid of white retaliation. Education for a black identity must face the caste cornerstones and find an answer to this problem: How does one struggle hard enough to attain liberation but cautious enough to avoid extermination?

The environment is so oppressive that it is impossible for the black identity to flourish. This oppression prevents the provision of experiences necessary for the inborn structures of young blacks to develop according to their maturational schedules. Education for a black identity must make these provisions. Carter Woodson argues that the program for the uplift of the Negro must be based upon a scientific study from within "to develop him the power to do for himself what his oppressors will never do to elevate him to the level of others."[60] He urges the Negro teachers to treat the disease rather than the symptoms.

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[55] Yankelovich and Barrett, op. cit., p. 131.

[56] Ibid., pp. 323–324.

[57] Erving Goffman, "Stigma" (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

[58] Clausen, op. cit., p. 41.

[59] Allison Davis, Burleigh and Mary Gardner, "Deep South" (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1941, 1965).

The disease is the value system. It must be replaced. Civilizations and cultures can persist only if the values are upheld. A truly revolutionary movement undermines the values. If the drive toward black pride continues and gains strength, the erosion of the cornerstone, worthlessness of blackness, may lend great impetus to liberation.

Power is needed to disobey the white cultural imperatives without severe punishment. Since blacks have no land, the only power is people. Previously excluded groups consolidated their people from a separatist vantage point with an ideology composed of (*a*) a pseudospecies declaration which said "we are the chosen people of God"; (*b*) a territorial imperative which was a native land or point of origin; and (*c*) an identity specification, i.e., Irish-Catholic, Jewish, Muslim).

Separatism intensified the "we groupness" until a strong nationalism was developed. Then myths, rites, rituals were created to sustain it. Associations and organizations were developed to perpetuate it. This nationalism projected a negative identity which rejected all others as aliens and forced the people into a kind of "promotively interdependent" situation which Deutsch calls cooperation.[61] Trust then built an economic niche and a work bloc which the group dominated and thereby controlled an access to the economy. Once the capitalistic base was established, the group then vaulted into the political arena, effected coalitions and worked for power. This process has been called a power-inclusion model.[62]

Except for the community of Islam, blacks do not have the ideology necessary for a separatist vantage point. Education for a black identity must be concerned with the development of such an ideology. Berger and Luckmann describe ideology as a particular definition of reality which comes to be attached to a concrete power interest. They explain as follows:

> Every group engaged in social conflict requires solidarity. Ideologies generate solidarity. The choice of a particular ideology is not necessarily based on its intrinsic theoretical elements, but may stem from a chance encounter.[63]

Although unity has been the goal of black people, an ideology has failed to emerge to achieve it.

The processes of enculturation and acculturation led to the development of two ideologies: integration and nationalism. Integration movements, generally speaking, are acculturated movements, and usually need white support. Nationalist movements, generally speaking, are enculturated movements, and are black supported. The ideology of the struggle for liberation has vacillated between nationalism and integration. Nationalism is the strong feeling of attachment to a nation. In the case of black folk, this nation is Africa.[64] Integration refers to the openness of society, to a condition in which every individual can make the maximum number of voluntary contacts with others without regard to qualifications of ancestry.[65] The strategies of these ideologies depicted in Figure 4 are violence, nonviolence, accommodation, and protest.

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[60] Carter G. Woodson, "The Miseducation of the Negro" (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, 1933), pp. 144–156.

[61] Deutsch, op. cit., pp. 565–566.

[62] For a complete discussion of this model see: Barbara A. Sizemore, "Separatism: A Reality Approach to Inclusion?" in "Racial Crisis in American Education" edited by Robert L. Green (Chicago: Follett Educational Corp., 1969), pp. 249–276.

[63] Berger and Luckmann, op. cit., p. 114.

[64] For an in-depth discussion of nationalism, see Parsons, op. cit., pp. 710–716, and Harold Cruse, "The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual" New York: William Morrow & Co., 1967), pp. 329–332.

[65] Oscar Handlin, "The Goals of Integration" in "The Negro American" edited by Talcott Parsons and Kennth B. Clark (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), p. 661.

FIGURE 4.—IDEOLOGIES AND DERIVATIVE STRATEGIES

	Nationalism				Integration			
	Violent	Non-violent	Accommodating	Protest	Violent	Non-violent	Accommodating	Protest
Panthers					×			×
S.C.L.C.						×		×
Islam		×	×					
RNA	×			×				
NAACP						×	×	

All organizations use both accommodation and protest in some form. The chart points out the predominant alternative used by the organization.

Education for a black identity must provide a broader set of knowledge to provide the information and skills to construct alternative institutions for enculturation processes. The present emphasis on the African heritage and black culture will provide some experiences for the growth of this new black identity. But, the identity is never complete. It is open ended and thereby subject to threat. The new black must discover ways to preserve the black identity or he may be forced to surrender it again. Presently, the white is dominant and defines reality. But his limits, too, are set by nature and nature acts back.

New structures emerge as humans interact with nature and the socially constructed world. In this process change occurs. In order to inject new cultural ideas and new direction for the pursuit of truth into present attempts at expanding the frontiers of human knowledge, blacks must invade the sacred precincts of the physical sciences from which they are being systematically excluded as well as the social sciences. Scientific inquiry can provide approaches useful to black people, and education must be concerned with that search.

Teachers and educators must unearth and disseminate knowledge, skills, and information which construct more accurate conceptual maps of reality for: (1) Understanding the people blacks must unify; (2) Identifying those who might oppose this unification and neutralizing or destroying their effects; (3) Differentiating the real world from its illusion; and (4) Providing the insights needed to discover alternatives otherwise unavailable.

From these conceptual maps new synergistic structures will evolve: a strong cultural base for black people and enculturated black identity based on the new values emphasizing the superiority of God, the worth of humanity, the beauty of blackness, the African heritage and the power of truth, knowledge, love, and peace.

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AN ALTERNATIVE TO MISEDUCATION FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE*

(By Edwina C. Johnson)

POSITION STATEMENT

The African decendants in America, having passed through three phases of education in America—de-Africanization, dehumanization, and, finally, an inferior caste status—through application of self-determination and the establishment of a voluntary self-separated school system, can educate themselves.

The country as a whole is unable to meet the challenge due to deep-seated racism which permeates the educational system as well as every other institution of the society.

As stated in 1964 by Brother Malcolm X, the case is clear for an alternative:

> When I was in the 8th grade, they asked me what I wanted to become. I told them I wanted to study Law. But they told me law was not a suitable profession for a Negro. They suggested I go into something else * * * like carpentry, maybe.* * *
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> "Education is a dependent, interacting unit of the whole culture."—Doxey A. Wilkerson, associate professor of education, Yeshiva University.

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*Seminar for teachers, New York City Public Schools, Dec. 13 ,1968.

As America developed throughout the centuries, first as small overseas colonies of Europe and eventually into an independent nation, the educational system developed and refined itself in order to meet the needs of the society. Education is, from the anthropological standpoint, one of the several major societal institutions. As Professor Wilkerson states (above), education interacts with the other institutions of a society. For purposes of clarity of focus, some historical setting is necessary at this juncture.

The American colonists copied European schools as much as possible. The schooling of the young was designed throughout the centuries to meet the changing needs of the whole society. The society as a whole changed from overseas colonies to a struggling, fledgling "democracy" and finally developed into a technological world power. The Afro-American was and is educated to serve that society (the colonies, the fledgling democracy, the technological world power) as a subordinate without human benefit or dignity.

EDUCATION AS IT WAS DEVELOPED FOR PUPILS

1600's—The colonial government had general authority over schools. The poor children were apprenticed to learn a trade. Latin grammar schools were offered as secondary education to wealthy boys. In 1636, Massachusetts founded Harvard College.

1700's—Practical education developed in the colonies for jobs in business, trade, navigation, et cetera. Benjamin Franklin helped found an academy in Philadelphia in 1749. By 1776, there were already nine colleges: Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Pennsylvania, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth.

1800's—Gradual establishment of State systems of public education. Separation of church and State became a reality. The elementary school curriculum was expanded to include (besides the "three r's") art, bookkeeping, drawing, geography, history, homemaking, science, et cetera. In the 1820's, teacher training institutions were founded, and later these became 4-year colleges and granted degrees. By 1875, free public education was established.

1900's—Technological developments. Thousands of advanced institutions of learning became a reality.

EDUCATION OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE

1600's—Africans, indentured servants, then perpetual enslaved persons, then enslaved persons by law. The colonial government varied colony by colony as regards the eventual "slaves by law" status. The African was, however, set apart almost at once and excluded from the general population of persons to be admitted to the educational program for whites.

1640—Perpetual servitude defined in Virginia.
1662—System of enslavement established by law in Virginia.
1664—System of enslavement established by law in Maryland.
1673—System of enslavement established by law in Carolina.
1684—System of enslavement established by law in New York.

Strict separate social codes for the blacks were developed throughout the colonies to reinforce the subordinated status. The African was forbidden to speak his own language, to practice his own religion, he was, in effect, de-Africanized during the early colonial period.

Learning for the African, then, was to lose his identity as an African, give up his African institutions, even his name. Learning to memorize some Bible passages was permitted for the sake of "saving his soul." His education was in the field, in the enslaved persons quarter, where he adjusted or died in the state of servitude to whites.

1700's—Slave or black codes: an enslaved person for every white person.

1. No freedom of assembly—except at church or at Christmastime. This meant no more than four or five blacks could assemble normally.
2. Firearms forbidden.
3. No beating of drums or blowing of horns (to prevent signaling for insurrectionary actions).

There was some effort on the part of religious groups to establish "Negro Schools" during the 1700's.

1. A Negro school in New York, 1701.
2. A Negro school in Philadelphia, 1770.

These were most often met with hostility from the white community due to the general feeling that an educated black was a dangerous one and would no longer be of service to a master.

1800's—Professor Benjamin Quarles describes the education of the Afro-American succinctly for this century:

> The lot of the typical slave, regardless of locale or occupation, was influenced in large measure by the psychological and legal controls brought to bear on him. All slaves were inculcated with the idea that whites ruled from God and that to question this white divine-right theory was to incur the wrath of heaven, if not to call for a more immediate sign of displeasure here below. A slave was told that his condition was the fulfillment of the will of the Master on high, catechisms for the religious instructions of slaves commonly bore such passages as:
>
> Q. Who gave you a master and a mistress?
> A. God gave them to me.
> Q. Who says that you must obey them?
> A. God says that I must. (1)

Freedmen were regularly ostracized, lynched, resold into a system of enslavement, and generally rejected. Attempts to educate themselves were discouraged with threats or acts of violence.

Free mulattoes occasionally were educated abroad. In Georgia and Florida, even when free, an Afro-American was forced to have a white guardian to whom he had to report regularly. Curfews were enforced, and except for churchgoing (which was considered good for the continuance of docility), the right of assembly was denied. Every Southern State had a law forbidding immigration—hence, the Afro-American was "boxed in" by law and denied entrance to schools where whites were enrolled.

Enslaved persons were taught trades as a means to better serving the white master. However, once a freedman, the same man was excluded from the trades.

The Afro-American child learned that his family members were scattered through the auction of enslaved persons, learned to loiter in the fields, to sabotage the progress of field work, to feign illness as a means of escaping a day in the fields, learned to pretend to be "happy" to prevent a whipping, learned to bend his inner pride in order to survive the severity of enslaved life, learned that any posture of dignity on his part could lead to a severe beating or an instant removal to a worse locale. The Afro-American child, enslaved or free, learned that he was not a human being. This was the dehumanization stage of the education of the Afro-American.

1900's—Outcast from participation in American life, relegated to peonage with practically no education in the South and segregated in the North. This is the inferior caste status of the 20th century. So-called Negro colleges, established with funds in the South by philanthropic whites, educated the Afro-American to accept his subordinated position in America, to be a "good Negro," that is.

The foregoing briefly describes the vast differences between the development of education for the white and for the black in the United States. The white was educated to become a community citizen, to be productive and to earn his living. The black was educated to serve the white community as an enslaved person or as a free man, to accept a role of a subordinate to the white in every facet of life. "The northern capitalists who were giving their support to Negro education in the South were not interested in making men. The southern whites were opposed for other reasons to the development of a truly educated leadership among Negroes." (2) Industrial education, as proposed by Booker T. Washington, became a tool of white supremacy. Industrial education schools were supposed to instill in their students a spirit of humility and an acceptance of their inferior status. Moreover, no teacher in a school of industrial education could mention the existence of labor unions. The emphasis on this education was supposed to be on the "heart and the hand" rather than the head because southern white people did not want the Negro's head to be educated. (3)

The unevenness of the pattern of informal (enslaved person-field) but rigid education given the Afro-American as well as the varied and irregularly attempted patterns to develop formal educational institutions for the Afro-Ameri-

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can sharpened the controversy within the country over whether or not the Afro-American was educable at all, was dangerous if educated formally, or even if he was to receive benefits from the public educational institutions founded by State laws and for which he paid taxes as a freedman. The following may assist in shedding light upon the genesis of the current conflict and the need for an alternative to mis-education for the Afro-American people.

Every early liberal tendency regarding the education of the African was discouraged and finally overwhelmed as the system of enslavement evolved. During the American Revolutionary era, a slight progressive trend developed because of a temporary decline in the economic value of the system of enslavement.

As enslaved persons' power expanded and resurged during the first half of the nineteenth century, negative attitudes toward educating the Afro-American reemerged. In this light, two periods are deemed important:

1. 1600–1835—Faint affirmation of the prudence in educating people of African descent.
2. 1835 on—As the Industrial Revolution altered the system of enslavement, a negative attitude developed: it was dangerous to educate a black, for he would then possibly no longer serve as an enslaved person.

Important, too, is a consideration of the types of persons who were interested in educating the Afro-Americans during the period of enslavement:

1. Masters who taught bookkeeping and clerical duties to their enslaved persons in order to increase the economic efficiency of the labor supply.
2. Persons who felt pity for the oppressed and wished earnestly to help them.
3. Missionaries who felt that Africans should learn the English language in order to understand the principles of religion as they espoused it.

The Revolutionary War increased educational opportunities for Afro-Americans slightly; however, these opportunities were overwhelmingly destroyed as the profits from the system of enslavement sharply increased some 50 years later. There were two reasons for the negation of education for Afro-Americans, enslaved or free:

1. the world-wide industrial revolution which gave rise to the establishment of the southern plantation system;
2. the efforts of educated Afro-Americans to publicize to the world the baseness and cruelty of the system of enslavement and the successful Haitian revolution executed by Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Thereafter, Southern statesmen wrote into the statute books laws which prohibited the education of the Afro-American. The laws as related to education were as follows:

1. An assemblage must be in the presence of particular white men.
2. Freedmen were made to leave the area, preventing any aid to education of the enslaved persons they might give.
3. Enslaved persons were no longer to be taught bookkeeping or any type of clerical skill.
4. Private and public teaching of any kind to Afro-Americans was prohibited.

It became clear to holders of enslaved persons that "as intellectual elevation unfits men for servitude and renders it impossible to retain them in this condition, it should be interdicted." (4) In order to keep the Afro-American in a complete service state, it was also necessary to keep him in the state of degradation and ignorance. So serious was the restriction of education for Afro-Americans, there were laws in many States making it a crime for an Afro-American to give instruction to his own child.

As time passed, enslaved persons who could read and write were considered as suspect and dangerous. The notions against educating the African traveled northward. Hence, fugitives and freedmen who went northward began to experience a severe rejection at every turn. Freedmen were not to be educated in the North either. Freedmen were subsequently forbidden to open schools in some areas of the North. Afro-American teachers were run out of town in other areas. In extreme situations, schools were burned to the ground if they serviced black students. Booksellers of African descent were tortured (an excellent example of this is the case of David Ruggles in New York City). (7)

Thomas Jefferson in 1781 described the Afro-American as being of a lower classification than the European, of having body odors, and of having sensu-

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ality as the center of his style of life, of being easily humored and having less brain capacity than the European. (6) This early writing by an American statesman has been repeated through the centuries and has found its way into the educational literature and been even proven in studies. So heavy is the weight of prejudice it has become a part of educational attitudes.

Although the system of enslavement, which dehumanized the African in America, failed finally, a malignant caste system developed which has mitigated against the progress in education for the Afro-American right up to and including the present time. As summarized in the U.S. Riot Commission Report:

> The Negro is in the United States by the very reverse of the democratic principle of free choice. He was seized in his native Africa by force, transported free of charge . . . and compelled to labor as a slave for white masters. He was denied the most basic kind of education, and was separated from his family throughout slavery. (He was denied the most basic kind of education, and was torn from his family throughout slavery.) The racism in the country against the Afro-American casts blame on him for those very characteristics the slave owners imposed by rule upon him during the 300 years of slavery. Any effort on his own part to better his condition educationally is cut down by the malignant racism which has developed over the centuries. The Dred Scott decision formalized his inferiority through the courts, the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* established segregation by law and by custom. (7)

The report clearly states: "The events of the summer of 1967 are in large part the culmination of 300 years of racial prejudice. Most Americans know little of the origins of the racial schism separating our white and Negro citizens. Few appreciate how central the problem of the Negro has been to our social policy." (8)

The schisms in the country pervaded education to such a degree, it is considered futile by Afro-Americans to resolve conflicts with white participation. The Ocean Hill-Brownsville test case is a classic example of racism in high level operation. The determination for self education follows as a logical alternative. "In the context of professed ideals, Negroes would find more retrogression than progress, more rejection than acceptance." (9)

Dista H. Caldwell states the case for voluntary segregation this way: "At present the survival of the Negro depends upon greater racial solidarity." (10)

The problems of Afro-American education are unique, and they demand unique, distinct, and separate schools in order to be solved. In a real democratic society, separate schools would be unnecessary. However, in a "democratic in name only" society, and in practice, aristocratic, separate schools for the minority denied participation is a sound solution for that minority.

The Afro-American, in the 20th century, is in reality, struggling for the goals that the Europeans were struggling for in the 1770's.

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THE FUTURE OF ACCOUNTABILITY

By Edythe J. Gaines

A Way Out of the Tangled Web

Oh what a tangled web we weave when first we practice to—to change what educational consumers (pupils, parents, public) had in mind when they applied the term accountability to education into something professionals in education believe they can live with more comfortably. Rather simple-to-understand and straightforward notions have been all but buried in a mass of calculations, complications, protestations, and concatenations. Taking that route, our profession is in danger of missing a grand opportunity to save the profession, to raise it to new and higher levels of respectability and of status, to bridge the ever-widening gap between educators and their various publics, and to gain a much-needed measure of peace across the battle-scarred fields. These in recent times have tended to separate us from the newest claimants of our services, that is, the "new" minority groups in this country, one of which, Afro-Americans, is at least 478 years "new" inasmuch as they arrived with Columbus.

Let me remind you that the question of accountability was not raised, in the first instance, by the professionals. It was raised by the laity. It tended to be raised in three contexts.

First, in communities where citizens vote directly on education taxes, the question has been raised in the context of school bond issues. "Parents and taxpayers" groups, with very strong emphasis on "taxpayers," have rebelled against the rising costs of education without receiving an equivalent rise in client satisfaction with what the education dollar is buying.

Second, when legislators were persuaded to vote allocations of funds especially for programs designed to improve educational results for the "economically and educationally disadvantaged" student, they insisted upon proofs, to be provided by evaluation studies, that the money spent brought about the results intended.

Third, there were parents and students and members of the public who were the traditional supporters of education—usually supporting bond issues, higher education taxes, higher teacher salaries, and greater expenditures for education generally—who began to have serious doubts as to the ability of the public schools to educate their children effectively. The patently-easy-to-see, clearly evident massive failure of the schools to educate the children of the poor and of minority groups brought cries for accountability from these groups early on. Upon closer inspection, parents from other walks of life began to perceive that their children, too, were not getting the kind of education to which the parents aspired. Coalitions began to form—shaky but there, nonetheless—between and among a broad spectrum of parents, all demanding better performance on the part of the schools and couching their demands in terms of professional accountability. While this group traditionally has not begrudged education a full measure of financial support (quite the contrary), today it, too, is asking searching questions about the uses to which educational resources are being put, in terms of the results that are forthcoming.

It is with reference to this last-mentioned group that my remarks will deal. It is this group whose alienation should be of particular concern to public school people, for it constitutes our traditional base of support. Loss of this support base leaves us with no foundation at all on which to rest. The continued existence of public education hangs in the balance. Can anyone deny that?

Given the stakes, one must be appalled at the response our profession has made to calls for accountability on the part of this group of people. When parents asked why their children were not getting the kind of results from schooling they had hoped for and expected, the response has been one or more of the following.

One response: There is something wrong with your child.—The message is never given in so straightforward a manner as this. It is couched in such descriptive terms as culturally deprived, socially disoriented, linguistically handicapped, educationally disadvantaged, neurologically damaged, genetically weak, perceptually impaired, emotionally unstable. But these terms are almost never accompanied by unassailable evidence about the accuracy of the label as applied to that individual child. These terms tend, instead, to be group labels, and parents rightly are not about to accept such unproven labels as being applicable to their child. Moreover, parents know that something must be wrong with the diagnosis when too many children fall within the "problem" categories. Parents easily accept the thought that one or two percent of the children may fit one or more of these descriptions. When the figure gets to be more than 10 percent, parents begin to be concerned about the accuracy of the data. Although they may not complain, they become alert and watchful. But when the "problem" or failing children get to be 60 percent to 80 percent of the total pupil population, as is the case in several poorer neighborhoods in the city, then nothing is going to convince parents that the problem lies with the children and not with the schools—and they are right.

Another response: There is something wrong with the surrounding environment.—Again, other terms are used—such as social disorganization, societal factors, the poverty cycle. The problem with this is that parents know all about the surrounding environment (after all it is they, not the professionals, who live there). But they fail to see, and the professionals have failed to prove, a 1-to-1 relationship between a child's reading retardation and whom the child's parent is sleeping with. Indeed, if sleeping only with one's bona fide, certified husband or wife were a precondition for learning to read, then precious few children from the upper middle to upper upper social strata would learn to read. Parents are mindful of the fact that the public schools in the case of the earlier minorities, the European immigrants, specifically accepted the responsibility of bringing the children of the poor into the mainstream of life in this country. They do not understand why the schools have lost that earlier sense of mission and the accompanying skills to carry it out.

Another response: The schools cannot be solely responsible for all of today's ills, including pupil failure; the schools cannot be held accountable for everything.—But, dear colleagues, don't you know that parents already know that; that parents are fully aware that schools cannot be expected to do everything, However, the distance between not being held accountable for everything and not being held accountable for anything is quite a distance indeed—one that parents and students simply cannot be expected to accept. We can't have it both ways, you know. We can't say to the public on the one hand that the schools are institutions vital to the general health and welfare of this Nation, thus deserving strong and expensive support, while saying on the other hand that the schools cannot assure the Nation that they can bring about any of the outcomes expected of institutions which are vital to the general health and welfare of the Nation.

Another response: Standardized test scores cannot appropriately be used to judge the effectiveness of individual teachers nor of school units.—But think a bit. Why do parents place such confidence in the value of standardized test scores as measures of success and effectiveness? The answer is that we, the professionals, have taught them to so regard these scores. Look at how we have used them. We have deemed them to be so accurate a measure that we use them to group children; to select those who are going to get "enriched" curriculums and those who are going to get educational pablum; to determine who will go into the "academic" track and who will go into "commercial" or "general" tracks in high school; to determine who will go to college and who will not. Indeed, we have used them to determine the life chances of our youth.

Given this example on the part of professionals, is it any wonder that parents have logically concluded that standardized test scores are quite accurate and quite legitimate measures of success and effectiveness? Why not, then, apply these miraculous measuring tools to a determination of the success and effectiveness of individual educators and of school units?

No, it is we educators, not the laity, who are dealing in non sequitors and logical inconsistencies when we say (through our behavior if not our words) that these test scores can make clear determinations about the performance of pupils but not about educators and schools.

Again, we cannot have it both ways. Parents undoubtedly will give up the idea of rating educators in terms of test results when educators give up rating children by these measures. Only when poor scores do not automatically denote a poor student (and vice vesa) will parents concede that poor results do not automatically denote poor educators.

Another response: The concept of accountability leads to the measurement of the narrowest aspects of education, those aspects that can be quantified and measured. Yet, the most important outcomes of education are human and humane, and these will not yield to an accountability scheme. Therefore let us not have *one.*—Methinks thou dost protest too much. Parents and students have never advocated accountability measures limited to numerically quantifiable characteristics. Quite the contrary. They are very much concerned with organizational climate, with attitudes and nonverbal communication, with the quality of the human transactions that occur in schools. Clearly, too, they want much more from schools than whatever skills are measured by standardized tests and other such tools. I repeat that such tools are much more the darlings of the professionals than they are of the laity. We created them; we gave them status; we use them pervasively.

No, parents are not satisfied merely with accountability with respect to the "3 R's." Parents simply say that schools ought at the very least be able to teach the "3 R's" after centuries of continuous experience. It is precisely for this reason that parents are appalled to see that schools cannot even succeed in teaching some of their pupils mastery of these ancient and basic tools for further learning.

Another response: Since certain children are doing poorly on standardized tests, let's not administer these tests to them at all. Constant failure on these tests is destructive of the children's confidence and sense of self-worth. Let us not subject them to this unproductive pain. Indeed, let us choose to teach other things at which these children can be more successful.—I must confess that the first time I heard this argument I couldn't believe my ears. Yet, I've heard this argument advanced again and again and by people who consider themselves to be "on the side of these children." (Please note the expression, "*these* children.")

Parents hardly know what to say to this argument. It is so chock full of patronizing insult to their children. It is a clear call for goal displacement.

This is not to say that standardized tests are good or valid or well constructed or anything else. It is to say that parents reject a double standard in education. They also suspect that behind this "kind" argument lies a desire on the part of educators to hide the evidence of their failure to effectively educate "these children."

Another response: Accountability is an extremely complex notion. It requires knowledges and tools not presently available to us. We do not have adequate measuring tools. In fact we don't even have an accurate and agreed-upon definition of that which is to be measured; therefore, we cannot really have an accountability system at this point in time.—Hence we get a circular argument. When all the limitations and restraints and complications are explained to them, parents say that they were never asking for an accountability system measured with the accuracy of calipers. They say that they'd be content to have effectiveness bear some relationship to results as seen in pupil performance. But when parents say that, educators immediately warn that student performance is a function of "countless other variables which are often uncontrollable and too multi-dimensional to analyze effectively." The author of that statement (Allan C. Ornstein in a paper called "Methods for Conducting Teacher Behavior Research: With Implications for Educating the Disadvantaged," based on his unpublished doctoral dissertation, N.Y.U.) went on to argue that there is no agreement as to what constitutes desirable student behavior; therefore, there is no way to tell whether or not a teacher is or is not getting the desired results. In other words, you can't get there from here.

Parents rejoin, "Fellows, stop making it so complicated. We didn't ask you to calibrate every aspect of our child's functioning. We just asked you to stop producing functional illiterates who not only hate school but also are frequently totally turned off to learning by the time school is finished with them. We ask you to stop changing bright-eyed, alert, ready-and-eager-to-learn kindergarteners into glassy-eyed, surly, and turned-off secondary youth who think of school mostly as a place to 'get in, get through, and get out.' "

Parents know that it is absurd to suggest that we can measure with absolute precision and exactitude the degree to which an individual professional's input results in a specific and identifiable outcome in terms of individual pupil performance, and they know that it is absurd to suggest that we can get such exact measures with respect to the effectiveness of school units. To use this as an argument, however, to suggest that nothing can be learned about the impact of educators and schools on the performance of individual pupils and groups of pupils is to carry the argument far too far. It flies in the face of common sense and of one's sense of truth.

Every parent knows a teacher who seems always to be successful with whatever children are assigned to him. Every parent has a fair notion of which schools are more effective than others. You ask parents to deny their sense of truth when you ask them to deny that such differences exist, can be identified, and probably can be explained in terms of differentiated human input.

Another response (This is what I call the throw-yourself-on-the-mercy-of-the-court-with-a-plea-for-clemency response.) *Yes, you're right. We educators really don't know much about why certain pupils are failing or about what to do about it. We are failing with "these children," but there is no malice there. We are doing the best we can. We just don't know any better. So, let's devise an accountability system that will not hold us responsible for present performance, but which will show us the way to become better performers in the future.*—There is something about this "we don't know" thing that bothers me as a professional. I am reminded of a scene in the motion picture "Gone with the Wind" in which Butterfly McQueen, playing the role of a house slave who got her "privileged position" in the household of the pregnant Scarlet O'Hara by claiming to be expert in delivering babies, cried out in panic, when the crucial moment came, "But Miss Scarlet, I don' know nuthun' 'bout no babies!" So with too many of today's educators. They hardly cross the threshold before they begin to tell you that they cannot do what they profess (by title and position) to be able to do. We have, for example, the spectacle of the English major licensed to teach English declaring unashamedly that he knows nothing about the teaching of reading—as if reading were not part of English.

Parents say, "You called yourselves educators, I didn't. I accepted you for what you said you are. You told me that yours is a profession; I didn't tell you that. I merely accepted what you said. You said that as a professional you are entitled to professional salaries, to professional autonomy, to the other rights and privileges of professionals. I did not argue with that. I merely ask that you do what you profess to be able to do. This is no time to tell me that you don't know how!"

It is for this reason that I do not believe that the accountability scheme being worked out in New York City will be at all acceptable to the groups of parents and community people who demanded it. In essence it is an educational accounting system, not an accountability system. Parents will not object to such an accounting system, but I doubt that they will accept it as a substitute for the accountability system for which they asked. They are likely to consider it to be a giant copout, a betrayal of their trust. It is my fervent hope that Educational Testing Service, the chief consultant for the project, will radically restructure its design so that it does indeed at least attempt to meet the people's aspirations for professional accountability—a concept that rests upon the notion of responsibility that can be fixed for the results of the educational enterprise.

The design for New York City speaks of collective responsibility of the staff for knowing as much as it can about the pupils, and of collective responsibility of the staff to use this knowledge, as best it can, to maximize the development of pupils toward defined and agreed-upon pupil performance objectives.

How in heaven's name can a staff be "collectively responsible" for anything? How do you operationalize that concept? What if they "collectively fail"? Then what? Do you ultimately separate them from service "collectively"?

Really, the public is not a collection of fools. They know that such terms have no real meaning. They know that we know that, too. Therefore, they suspect us of acting in bad faith. That is no basis upon which to reestablish public trust in the public schools and in their educators.

A final response: Parents and public cannot be trusted with data on school performance. They would use such data as weapons, engaging in vigilante activities. Therefore, try to avoid giving them such data.—No doubt fear of reprisal is the reason behind many of the diversionary maneuvers in the accountability game. But what is the evidence on this matter? There have been so few cases of this kind of witch hunting that every case has been headline news. Why should an entire profession cower in unreasoning fear of unlikely consequences?

In a truly useful accountability system, practitioners would learn what they need to know in order to be successful in their work. First they would learn what is expected of them since parents and public would, at long last, have to combine their lengthy, overinclusive, often conflicting set of expectations into agreed upon goals. Next, practitioners would learn the extent to which they are or are not meeting those goals. Finally, they could use that information to help them to search out, in a clear and focused way, those practices and programs which hold promise of helping them learn to behave in such a way as to more nearly successfully meet those goals.

In such a setting practitioners could reach a new level of freedom from stress. Make no mistake about it: with or without an accountability system, the educator who is failing in his work knows it and is shattered by that knowledge. Nothing equals the private anguish experienced by such a person. However, since he perceives it to be to his advantage not to admit to his problem, he tends to take on adaptive modes of behavior that are not merely destructive to the ends of education for children, but are also destructive to the practitioner himself—both personally and professionally.

These, then, are the most typical responses of professionals to the concept of professional accountability. They are very much out-of-phase with parent and public perceptions, aspirations, and expectations.

What, if anything, could get us professionals to change our stance? I believe that a change will come only when we perceive that there is something vital to us in the concept. We cannot be motivated by fear. No one can be. We can be motivated by hope and by the promise of saving solutions to our own pressing problems.

A good accountability system would free us from the stresses and strains inherent in trying to meet myriad, unspecified, often conflicting expectations. It would recognize not only that pupils are uniquely individual human beings but also that educators are, too. Thus, it would free us to find our own personal paths to glory, if such can be found. It would not subject us, therefore, to the anti-human individuality and uniqueness that inheres in the "collective responsibility" notion. Such a notion leads to collective anonymity and conjures up an image of a long, grey line of faceless, nondescript beings, each indistinguishable from the other—all working, but none knowing the worth of his work, the relevance of his work to the growth and development of other individual human beings.

A good accountability system would, indeed, help to increase our professionalism, raise our profession to higher status, heal the wounds we've suffered in battles with those who should be and traditionally have been our allies, and bring us all enormous personal satisfaction and peace of mind. Then, and only then, would we be out of the tangled web we have woven.

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